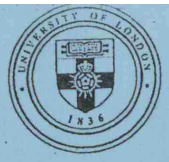


REFERENCE ONLY

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON THESIS

Degree Phd Year 2006 Name of Author Hu, C-Y.

Embodied Memories and Enacted Ritual Materials

-- Possessing the Past in Making and Remaking Saisiyat Identity in Taiwan

Chia-yu Hu

University College London
Department of Anthropology
University of London
2006

(Thesis submitted for a Ph. D. degree)

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Abstract

This thesis aims to study the interrelationships between the memory, materiality, embodiment, ritual practices, and collective consciousness of the Saisiyat, a minority indigenous group in the northwest Taiwan. In order to understand how such a small, migrated and mixed society sustains a sense of continuity and collectivity despite experiencing intensive confrontations over histories, essential features of the mode of memory and the means of constructing memory in the local community are explored.

Based on an extensive ethnographical study, this thesis places its central concern on the enlivened past and reproduced ancestral memories of the Saisiyat by analysing the material symbols and sensational actions that are highlighted in their ritual practices. I would argue that the Saisiyat mode of memory relies heavily on the material, sensory and non-verbal media. A sense of continuity is vividly and actively generated based on a set of materialized and embodied practices of social, cultural, and historical relevance. For these reasons, the material properties and sensory qualities derived from sacred objects, ritual foods, or patterned bodily actions are sophisticatedly identified and manifested as powerful mnemonic sign-devices. Through the entangled process of objectification and embodiment, the ancestral connections are not only reified in the elaborated materiality and formality, but also experienced by the body and accumulated in the body. In sum, this thesis, on the one hand, explores the flexibility and capacity of material resources as substantial, transposable and reproducible linkages to the past. On the other hand, it also attempts to show that the Saisiyat past is constructed based on the intertwining materials and sensory forces through incorporating practices, which actively mediate the hybridity and craft the collective consciousness of acting beings in a rapid changing political-economic setting.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my utmost gratitude to those people who helped in making this thesis possible over a long period of time. My initial study on the Saisiyat culture and society could be traced back to about a decade. The first project was commissioned by the Taiwanese government for me to investigate on the contemporary material culture of the Saisiyat people. At the beginning of my initial plan, I did not expect that I would extend such a long study on the Saisiyat. However, the continuing interest in the objectification of Saisiyat distinctiveness and identity as well as the strong attachment to many Saisiyat acquaintances made me go back to the field every year after I finished my first investigation report. Some Saisiyat friends tease me that I have been stuck with them since I have eaten too many sticky rice cakes with them.

My greatest debt in conducting this study is owed to a lot of Saisiyat men and women, elders and juniors, villagers and city-dwellers who spent their precious time to accommodate my interviews and allow me to participate in their social activities. When I conducted my fieldwork, I especially enjoyed the greatest hospitality and generosity of three families namely, *baunai a* umao of the *Babai* clan from the *Raromoan* settlement, *umau a boon* of the *Babai* clan from the *Lalai* settlement, and *umau a baxi* of the *Sawan* clan in Penglai village where I lived and spent joyful time. These families received me into their homes, fed me with good meals, brought me and guided me to attend their rituals, as well as interpreted their customs and ancestral traditions to me. From their acts, I experienced the kindness and decency that are highly valued in their *kasbongan* (ancestral traditions and wisdoms).

During my doctoral research period, my colleagues in the Department of Anthropology at the National Taiwan University took extra teaching loads while I was away for several years. Thus, I would like to express my greatest thankfulness to them. Similarly, I am also very deeply grateful to my teachers and fellow students at the University College London who provided me not only the insightful academic stimuli and research aides, but also offered me warm support to deal with daily life matters in a foreign city. In particular, I would like to thank

Professor Michael Rowlands and Dr. Susanne Kulcher for giving me the most valuable advice and comments on developing and writing this thesis. The last but not the least to mention are my parents and my husband, who have always encouraged and supported me to take new challenges in my life.

Contents

List of Illustrations

Figures

Photographs

A Note on Orthography

The Saisiyat language is a distinctive language within the cluster of Formosan Austronesian languages. Though this language is not very widely spoken as a primary tongue in the daily communication of younger Saisiyat nowadays, it is still popularly used by elderly people, especially during ritual occasions. In general, Saisiyat people in different villages and regions speak the same dialect; however, some pronunciations in the South Saisiyat vary from those in the North Saisiyat, due to different influences brought by the languages of their dominant co-inhabitants, the Atayal and the Hakka Chinese.

A number of Saisiyat words or sentences which are used in this thesis appear in italics. The orthography utilized here is basically modified from a published Saisiyat language textbook used in local primary schools. It was revised from a system proposed by a Taiwanese linguist, Ren-kuei Li(1992), for documenting the Formosan Austronesian languages. This documenting system is gradually being learnt and used by more and more local Saisiyat. The following table shows the major consonants and vowels the Saisiyat use.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p	t(d)		k	'
Nasal	m	n		ng	
Fricative voiceless		s	S		h
----- voiced	b(v)	z			
Lateral		l	L		
			r		
Semivowel	w(u)		y		
Vowel	i	e, a	o, e̲		
Diphthongs	oe, ae		an	e̲n, ai	au

Chapter 1
Introduction

This thesis is an ethnography of the enacted past and the reproduced ancestral memories of the Saisiyat, a small indigenous group in the hinterland of northwestern Taiwan. Its central concern is the collective memory and identity constructed on a set of materialized and embodied practices of social, cultural, and historical relevance. The questions which this research intends to probe into were initiated in relation to my first impression of and interaction with the Saisiyat. It was in the mid 1990s that the Bureau of Civil Affairs in Taiwan started to assign researchers to do investigations on the material cultures of those officially classified as indigenous groups.[1] Thus, I was assigned to investigate the Saisiyat from November 1995 to June 1996. Before I went to do my survey, many friends and colleagues in Taipei (the capital city in Taiwan) told me that my project was the easiest to conduct, as there was not much information to be collected in this small, mixed, and almost sinicized group. Some joked that I could finish the project within one or two months by turning in a short concluding report.

To a certain degree, these jokes reflect the typical images of the Saisiyat in the eyes of the general public. As a minority among the indigenous peoples, the Saisiyat live in the lower highlands in the juncture of the plain region and the mountainous region of northwestern Taiwan. They were frequently depicted as a hybrid group which had been gradually 'sinicized' (becoming Han Chinese, which make up the majority of the people in Taiwan) in the historical records of the 19th century. Hence, many outsiders believe that the Saisiyat traditions have mostly been forgotten and the Saisiyat Culture has been disappeared since long ago. For these reasons, the distinctiveness of the Saisiyat was not very much

---

[1] At that time, the indigenous people in Taiwan were classified into 9 groups -- Atayal, Saisiyat, Amis, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Yami. This 9-tribe classification system can be traced back to the Colonial Period. The systematic classification was first initiated during the Japanese Occupation, not only for scientific research, but also for colonial control. However, the official classification has been very arguable for many indigenous groups. After years of protest, the classification system was modified in 2001. In the current classification and naming system, 12 aboriginal groups are officially defined-- Atayal, Saisiyat, Amis, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Yami, Sao, Kavaran, and Taroku -- are officially defined.

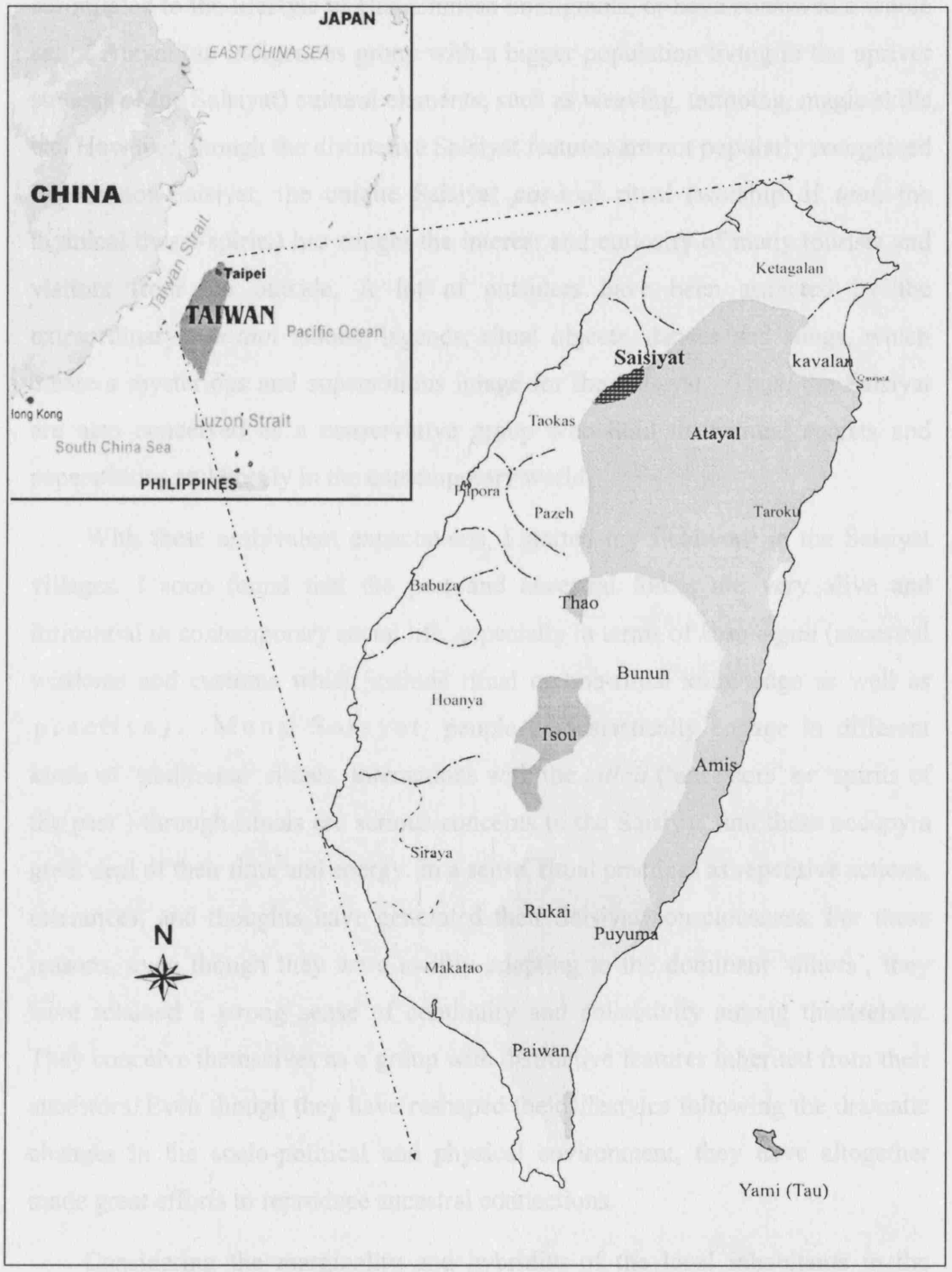


Figure 1. The Location of the Saisiyat and Other Indigenous Groups in Taiwan

noticed by the outside world. Especially in aspects of material representations, the Saisiyat were regarded as showing no distinguishable features. For these reasons, the Saisiyat are frequently conceived as a very adaptive group who have either assimilated to the lifestyle of Han Chinese immigrants, or have borrowed a whole set of Atayal (an indigenous group with a bigger population living in the upriver streams of the Saisiyat) cultural elements, such as weaving, tattooing, magic skills, etc. However, though the distinctive Saisiyat features are not popularly recognized by the non-Saisiyat, the unique Saisiyat *pas-taai* ritual (worship of *taai*, the mythical dwarf-spirits) has caught the interest and curiosity of many tourists and visitors from the outside. A lot of outsiders have been attracted by the extraordinary *pas-taai* taboos, legends, ritual objects, dances and songs, which create a mysterious and superstitious image for the Saisiyat. Thus, the Saisiyat are also conceived as a conservative group who hold their ritual secrets and superstitions stubbornly in the contemporary world.

With these ambivalent expectations, I started my fieldwork in the Saisiyat villages. I soon found that the past and ancestral forces are very alive and influential in contemporary social life, especially in terms of *kasbongan* (ancestral wisdoms and customs which include ritual or non-ritual knowledge as well as practice). Many Saisyat people enthusiastically engage in different kinds of 'traditional' rituals. Interactions with the *tatinii* ('ancestors' or 'spirits of the past') through rituals are serious concerns to the Saisiyat, and these occupy a great deal of their time and energy. In a sense, ritual practices as repetitive actions, utterances, and thoughts have generated their Saisiyat consciousness. For these reasons, even though they were swiftly adapting to the dominant 'others', they have retained a strong sense of continuity and collectivity among themselves. They conceive themselves as a group with distinctive features inherited from their ancestors. Even though they have reshaped their lifestyles following the dramatic changes in the socio-political and physical environment, they have altogether made great efforts to reproduce ancestral connections.

Considering the marginality and hybridity of the local inhabitants in the Saisiyat district, the material memory and collective consciousness constructed through ritual experiences have become my primary interest. Within the last five

years of the 20th century, a marked expansion of indigenous ritual and cultural movements spread throughout Taiwan following the outcry of Taiwanese identity in a broader context. In the meantime, an increasing trend to employ cultural heritages and past legacies to renew indigenous 'identity' can also be found in Taiwan. It shows that indigenous peoples tries to gain extra powers and to legitimate their distinctive existence in unprivileged circumstances by possessing the 'past'. Following these movements, past resources and ancestral connections have been even more emphasized and revitalized in the Saisiyat life. Thus, by a durational study on the Saisiyat material representations and ritual practices, this thesis attempts to explore the past linked and enlivened by the objectified resources outside the body, in which ancestral power can enter and take over the body to manifest actions. I would argue that the past in its objectified forms formulate a solid foundation for the Saisiyat to construct memory and identity.

1-1. The Objectives and Theoretical Frameworks

This project aims to explore the dialectical relations between the memory process and material practice. A special attempt is made to investigate the mode of memory that heavily relies on the substantial properties and sensory qualities through tangible media in ritual operations. For a marginal society like that of the Saisiyat, it is possible to perceive that the repetitive and accumulated material and sensory experiences can formulate powerful and fluid connections to the past. In the process of Saisiyat ritual operations, many symbolic objects and acts are defined as inevitable ancestral resources by the local people assigned to hold them or act them out. For these reasons, these objects may be regarded as pivotal memory foci in producing and reproducing the past. The dynamic powers of relating and connecting are not only derived from the symbolic analogies, but also from the intertwining of material and sensory perceptions. Thus, this thesis probes into the mode of memories, the forms of past, as well as the capabilities of material culture in the process of storing, accumulating, and transmitting cultural messages.

There are several basic points emphasized in this thesis. First, the distinctive sense of past is related to the mode of memory among the Saisiyat. Second, the

domain of ritual experience provides pivotal resources out of which the social members can draw images, symbols, metaphors, and thematic idioms in constructing collective memory. Third, physical properties and material analogies are anchored devices to formulate substantial 'pastness'. Fourth, the past highlighted in its objectified and embodied form empowers a migrant society like that of the Saisiyat to cultivate a more tangible but fluid sense of continuity and identity. In short, the major concern here is the power of substantial properties and sensory qualities in creating relatedness in a fast-changing world.

The approaches highlighted in my research and analysis are inspired by several critical concepts in the recent study of human culture and society. The first is the 'practice' theory, as proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (1977), which emphasizes on the strategic importance of the tempo of transactions, rather than on abstracted ideas in a fixed 'social structure' or 'cultural system'. It draws our attention to consider how patterned behaviours in the living world are produced and reproduced based on individual choices shaped by the past experiences accumulated in the body. Past actions are loosely sedimented and gradually embodied to comprise the 'disposition' and 'taste' of the acting subjects. In another sense, this model places greater emphasis on the forces acting upon social actors, and provides a better view toward understanding the actors' motives (Ortner 1978). Nevertheless, although this approach gives explanations on how social actors as individuals construct patterned actions and negotiate shared meanings through procuring cultural capitals, it does not explain how notions derived from past actions could extend over longer periods under pressures of transformations; neither does it explain how the habit memory could be sustained within a fast-changing lifestyle.

By considering the diversified and complex social interactions in a broader spatiotemporal framework, a second approach that this project emphasizes is the dialectical construction and processual transformation of the past based on a culturally elaborated memory model. As suggested in Munn's work on Massim value system (1986) and Hoskins' work on Kodi time system (1993), it is important to consider a dynamic and interactive model involving 'multi-vocal and multi-layered meanings' (Hoskins 1993:379), and 'the relative capacity of acts or

practices for expanding the spatiotemporal control of actors and the community as a whole' (Munn 1986:19). From this perspective, the past as products of collective practices is mediated through dynamic relations of 'self' and 'others', sacred and secular, as well as object and subject. Following this approach, many recent studies notice that not only the past is involved in shaping actions and motivations in the present, but the intentions and demands of the present also mediate to shape the past. Thus, the past and the present are dialectically constructed in the historical process. The past encoded in specific culturally elaborated media could be reawakened as traditions and ancestral resources in different contexts. As Lambek (2002) points out, "When the 'local' articulates with the 'global', it is not a matter of mere reaction, however inspired but, rather, the considered response of a tradition that draws upon its own resources." (Lambek 2002: 272)

The third consideration highlighted in this project is agency. More recent anthropological works have drawn special attention to agency, in which the individual is privileged as the presumed locus of agency (Ortner 1984, Strathern 1988). However, though individual intentions and responses are developed in the complex interactions, they are juxtaposed in the wider cultural context in which they occur. For interpreting the collective consciousness, it has long been noted that objectification has played critical roles in a process of actions developed out of interaction with others (Hegel [1807] 1977, Durkheim [1912] 1965). From this perspective, intentional action is in itself an already completed act. Furthermore, the material object produced displays agency from the previous actor and transcend the individual present and the temporal moment (Keane 1997, Gell 1998). As Gell has claimed, 'doing' is a process of the mediation of 'agency' which involves material practices and effects; also, the material entity as an index is not simply a 'product' of action, but rather a distributed extension of an acting agent (Gell 1998:257). In this sense, this project views stylized objects as a 'memory' in the objectified form, which embodies a series of cumulative memories and relates back to the past.

However, despite different concerns and emphases expressed in the above approaches, they have provided basic concepts on its analytical premise of this project. Based on these foundations, this study views the Saisiyat past as being

actively embodied in tangible objects and in acting social beings through repetitive ritual practices. From this point of view, objectification of the past is also the critical memory process that extend individual agency and construct collective consciousness among the Saisiyat. To be more specific, the elaborated sources of the past are explicated ritual actions and objectified ritual forms. They create indispensable passages to bridge the contemporary Saisiyat with the ancestors over the historical changes.

(1) Ritual Practices and Memory Processes

The reason that 'memory' is placed in a central position in this research is because that a sense of continuity and identity must be formed and sustained on memory works. Over recent years, scholarly interest in memory, especially in collective memory has exploded in different fields of humanities and social sciences. Some studies have thus approached issues related to the formation, transformation, representation, and reinterpretation of the past, tradition, history, and authenticity by considering the features of shareable memories. In general, four basic ideas proposed by these recent studies on memory and mnemonic processes are hereby employed: (1) memory is socially and culturally constructed; (2) memory operates through public representation; (3) modalities of recollection are historically based; (4) forgetting is one of the selective processes through which memory achieves social and cultural definition (Casey 1987, Fentress & Chris 1988, Melion & Kuchler 1991, Radstone 2000).

Though the cases mentioned above have concerned the nature of the collective memory, not many of them have emphasised how the past is formed and expressed in a particular society. For this reason, this project attempts to develop an in-depth ethnographic study for acquiring a more subtle understanding of the mode of memory and the constructive process of memory among a minority group which faces special memory demands. Moreover, this thesis attempts to emphasize the process of memory construction in life experience, especially through the practices of ritual materials. As Connerton (1989) has suggested based on the arguments of Durkheim (1912) and Halbwachs (1925), the social spaces of memory exist mainly in collective representations and performances. Thus, the

analysis of Saisiyat memory in this project is focusing on collective representations, especially on bodily experiences derived from ritual practices.

In earlier anthropological works, the division of memory types in human societies was basically made between the literate and the non-literate societies. For example, Barth contrasted the process of cultural transmission in literate society and non-literate societies; Goody differentiated the dependence on texts in literate traditions and the dependence on memory in non-literate traditions (Goody 1968; Barth 1987). From other perspectives, recent arguments have proposed to de-emphasize the literate and non-literate distinctions (Connerton 1989, Whitehouse 1992, Rowlands 1993). For example, Connerton (1989) differs the 'incorporating' practices for developing habit memory to the 'inscribing' practices for developing cognitive memory. Whitehouse (1992) distinguishes societies that rely on different principles between verbal 'logical code' and non-verbal 'analogical code' in codifying meaning and structuring knowledge, and argues that the variation of codification is in relating to different demands of the cultural transmission or reproduction of a specific society. Moreover, Kuechler (1987) has analysed differences between the conservative transmission from the duration of objects as a mnemonic device, and the generative transmission from interactions between deliberately destroyed objects and later recalled images.

Though the above contrasts were divergently made between literate societies/non-literate societies, oral traditions/literate traditions, incorporating practices/inscribing practices, habit memory/cognitive memory, conservative transmission/generative transmissions, or analogical codes/logical codes, they have tried to examine cultural transmission and memory construction in different human societies. Based on their inspiration, this study considers memory as a set of cultural practices manifested in elaborate forms of public representations. By identifying the specific mode of memory that evolves in the distinctive Saisiyat context, I attempt to show that ritual practices are employed as primary venues for representing ancestral traditions and raising collective memory. In the dynamic and complex processes of ritual practices, specific themes, sentiments, emotions, concepts, and values are repetitively stimulated and actualised through certain material forms and bodily actions. Thus, I would argue that the past of the Saisiyat

is both expressed and acquired through the repetition of ritual experiences. Through continuously 'doing' and 'practicing' rituals, a group of social beings act to articulate and reify a sense of stability and continuity to overcome the threats of historical changes and migrations.

(2) Objectification and Embodiment of the Past

The second issue that this project focuses on is the objectified substances and embodied sensory effects in the public representations. Here, I consider objectification and embodiment as the opposing results of the same action to give a concrete form. Objectification is a process that gives a concrete form to an object, while embodiment is a process that incorporates a concrete form into a body. They create externalized and internalized linkages to the past in a dialectic way. It is worth noting that memory is located where the past is conserved, objectified, performed, personified and authorized. By considering materialized and bodily expressions as possessing powerful forces to cultivate social relations, as in more recent ethnographic studies we regard objects and formalities serving as pivotal memory foci and past linkages in some societies (Barth 1975; Munn1986; Harrison 1999; Weiner 1992; Hoskins 1993, 1998; Godelier 1999, Melion & Kuchler 1991; Keane 1997).

Taking these stances, this project specifically places material memory in the centre of study. It argues that tangible forms and physical properties spark object-centred and body-centred memory models to trigger information, codify messages, strengthen remembrances, and construct identities of the Saisiyat. In other words, their mode of memory is based on material and sensory mnemonic devices. From the indigenous point of view, tangible things inherited from, or associated with the '*tatinii*' ('ancestors' or 'spirits of the past') are most serious matters, which charge strong powers in the progression of life and the influencing of destiny. Thus, for the Saisiyat, objects or acts required or favoured by the *tatinii* attract greatest attentions and efforts to be remembered. The succession of these objects and acts or the continuance of attitudes toward them formulates a sense of 'permanence' in memory. Thus, the past, in terms of related forms or substances, is possessed by

local people; however, sometimes people are also possessed by the extended agency of objectified expressions as ancestral actions.

Furthermore, this thesis regards objects as constellations of multiple sensory qualities, such as colour, shape, taste and texture, as suggested in works of Bergson (1908), Halbwachs (1925), Bartlett (1932), Yates (1966), and Huyssen (1995). As we know, material objects can generate multi-layered and faceted sensory experiences to evoke and provoke memories. Thus, some anthropologists emphasise on the interactions of materiality, senses and kinaesthesia in memory (Bateson 1972; Kuchler 1987; Stoller 1989; Taussig, 1993, Seremetakis 1994; Farnell 1999; Warnier 2001). In their works, the material and sensory sign-devices are conceived as making a clearer articulation in form and a better definability in texture. Since meanings emerging from these non-verbal media are usually concealed beyond surface phenomena, they can be more fluidly intermingled to constitute multi-directional channels for locating memories (Stoller 1989, Seremetakis 1994).

These insights served as my inspiration to explore the Saisiyat collective memory from a dialectical material-sensory approach. It is obvious that non-verbal expressions are heavily emphasised on the Saisiyat ritual practices. However, the persuasiveness of ritual materials is combined with elaborated multi-sensory operations. The process of practicing rituals, touching sacred objects, tasting ancestral foods and drinks, listening to ritual speeches or songs, and making body movements are all perceived as major sources of sensory multiplicity. The senses as embodied powers are mediated through the material properties of sacred objects, ritual foods, or stylised bodily actions. Thus, this study represents the action of sophisticated material and sensory mediation in creating mimetic connections to the past. Through the process of objectification and embodiment, the ancestral past is continuously sensed, recognized, and articulated in the present to build and secure permanence in the Saisiyat community.

(3) Creative Continuity and Marginal Identity

By referring to material representations and bodily experiences in ritual contexts as reproducible and retrievable ancestral resources, the past is conceived by the Saisiyat as actively mediated in their attempt to cope with modernization and globalization. A group of local inhabitants who persistently re-enact past symbolic resources derive a collective consciousness and objectified distinctiveness to legitimise their existence in the contemporary world. From this perspective, the past is not merely the residue of earlier acts; it has multiple potentials and meanings which involves appropriation, re-formation, and re-orientation by local people (cf. Bourdieu 1977; Hoskins 1993; Lowenthal 1995, Lambek 1996, Feuchtwang 2000).

Looking back to the anthropological gaze of other cultures, the notion of 'change' and 'continuity' has been a critical dilemma to contend with. Based on the dominant concepts of modernization in the last century, indigenous cultures and peoples were regarded as facing an inescapable fate of disappearance through development (Sahlins 1999:ii). Yet, in contrast to the approach of essentialism, recent post-modern or post-colonial theories have advocated ideas of 'heterogeneity and hybridity'. Many suggest that nations are 'imagined' and traditions are 'invented'. However, both assumptions seem to neglect how indigenous people position themselves from their own viewpoint. Moreover, following the changing concepts of ethnicity and ethnic boundaries through historical encounters, the self-portrait of indigenous people has also been 're-adjusted' in the processes of interaction with others (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992).

It is worth noting that the construction of identity involves the marking of contrast—the dialectical opposition of selves and others— through an active process of objectification of cultural differences (Bourdieu 1977; Comaroff & Comaroff 1992; Harrison 1999). Thus, resources associated with the symbolic past are recognized as key elements to objectify cultural distinctiveness. In the last decade of the 20th century, a yearning for cultural heritage and identity has become a popular movement all over the world, especially for indigenous societies. In responding to the homogenizing forces of globalization, more and more indigenous peoples try to empower themselves and legitimise their existence

by holding onto the 'past' (Said 1994; Sahlins 1999; Harrison 1992, 1999). Thus, cultural heritages bound to identity and 'eternal remembrance' are regarded as 'precious possessions' or 'scarce properties' to be competed for (Appadurai 1981; Lowenthal 1998[1996]; Harrison 1999). Relations with the past and others can be manifested through access to ancestral heritages.

In the process of 'modernization', on the one hand, a group of local people in the Saisiyat area re-adjust themselves to overcome political conflicts and economic difficulties derived from external forces. On the other hand, they embrace their inheritance and sustain their version of cultural traditions over changes. Such mixed intentions of indigenization and modernization have been pointed out by Marshall Sahlins,

> 'The awareness of indigenous culture as a value to be lived and defended is not just a simple and nostalgic desire for the fetishized repositories of a pristine identity, but signifies the demand of them for their own space within the world cultural order, and recognize their existence in the context of national or international threats.' (Sahlins 1999:x).

In this sense, the Saisiyat guard and reproduce their ancestral resources in order to objectify their distinctive existence. Through these tangible passages, they actively produce transferable pasts and vividly enliven ancestral traditions in making and remaking a society. A sense of creative continuity is indexed by persistent material-sensory properties that are repeatedly circulated in rituals. Specific materials and acts are presented and reproduced in the present, not only because they are tightly combined with myths, legends, beliefs, and cosmologies, but also because they derive related perceptions and bodily experiences based on specific material features (cf. Barth 1975; Godelier 1999).

Taking into account that 'Saisiyat identity' is cultivated by a group of people on the border, we can understand why, in contrast to their highly adaptive motivation in day-to-day affairs, the Saisiyat are keen to retain and retrieve resources of the past with focus on material memory. The phenomena of re-vitalising cultural traditions and re-discovering ancestral resources have become even more obvious among the Saisiyat following the recent indigenisation or localisation movement in Taiwan. Many non-ritual resources related to the past like weaving, basketry, woodcarving, crafts, decorative designs, song or old

photos are all becoming highly desirable resources, implicitly or explicitly. Through reproducing, negotiating, and contesting access to ancestral resources, the sense of past and identity is actualised in the present and keeps moving with time.

1-2. The Research and the Fieldwork Setting

This project is a durational ethnographical case study centred on the Saisiyat, a very small indigenous group living in the northwestern mountainous district of Taiwan. According to a recent assessment made by the Council of Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan, the Saisiyat are approximately 5,400 in number, which is about 1.2% of the indigenous population. However, the indigenous population accounts for about 2% of the total Taiwanese population. Thus, in terms of population, the Saisiyat are minorities not only among Taiwanese but also among indigenous peoples in Taiwan.[2]

Nonetheless, the Saisiyat, like other indigenous groups in Taiwan, speak a distinctive language which belongs to the Austronesian family. Though they had moved along the historical 'aboriginal border' where Han-Chinese settlers and indigenous groups confronted and interacted over two hundred years, this small group of indigenous people have constructed a fluid boundary and expressed an adaptive ability based on their sense of belonging and continuity. Thus, rather than making a conceptual ethnic classification, this study features the people of the Saisiyat who are committed to the past and who possess and articulate ideas and sensations from shared ancestral substances and life experiences.

As a matter of fact, my understanding of the Saisiyat was gradually developed through three divergent pathways. They are a mixture of reading, examining and analyzing museum collections, as well as conducting a long-term participate observation in field study, which provide me with information and knowledge in relating to the Saisiyat from different aspects. Firstly, an extensive

[2] The total population of Taiwan is about 23,000,000; the indigenous population is 440,000. Among various indigenous groups, the largest is the Amis group, which makes up about 36% of the total indigenous people's population; the second largest is the Atayal (a neighbouring group of the Saisiyat) which makes up about 18%; Bureau of Statistics 2004.

review of the literature concerning the Saisiyat and the indigenous peoples in Taiwan was processed to develop a general understanding of the historical process and changes in the associated district before the fieldwork survey. This included major travel accounts and local gazetteers written by the Chinese literati in the Qing period, such as Yu ([1698] 1959), Jiang ([1704] 1960), Huang ([1724] 1957), Chen ([1871] 1963), and Chen ([1894] 1999). Travel accounts and memoirs made by early Western missionaries, businessmen, or scientific researchers, who had visited Taiwan from the end of the 17th century to the beginning of the 20th century were also obtained and analyzed, such as Swinhoe (1863), Steer (1876), Bax (1875), Tylor (1889), Mackay (1896), Davison (1903), etc. Among them, memoirs of George L. Mackay (1896), a Canadian Presbyterian missionary, and Mackay's travel companion, B. W. Bax (1875), a British captain offered vivid descriptions of the early indigenous life in the Saisiyat district. Since the 1900s, more in-depth investigation reports have been made by the Japanese researchers, such as Ino (1904, 1928), Kojima (1917), Sayama (1921, 1925), Yoshino (1939, 1940), etc. After World War II, ethnographic reports and interpretive theses concerning specific Saisiyat features of totemic-like clan naming system and distinctive ritual presentations, especially the ritual of *pas-taai*, have been published by scholars as Lin (1956), Wei (1956, 1965), Chen (1966, 1967), etc. From the end of 1980s, more in-depth research concerning cultural representation, ethnic identity, and ritual experiences among the Saisiyat have been developed by Zheng (1987, 1989), Chang (1988), Hu & Hsieh (1993), Hu (1995, 1998), and Lin (1997, 2000), etc. In general, the above accounts made in different periods provided valuable resources for an understanding of changes in the material practices and ritual life of the Saisiyat, which lays a foundation for diachronic comparisons.

Secondly, Saisiyat and Taiwan indigenous collections in museums of different countries have been explored. The purposes of conducting such researches were to: (1) collect images of indigenous objects and people, and bring duplications back to the original villages, and investigate local memories for these images; and (2) analyse collectors and collecting histories of these images in order to understand the historical background of the appropriation of others' material symbols. Studies regarding the Saisiyat collections were mainly conducted in the

major ethnographic museums in Taiwan, such as the National Taiwan Museum, the Museum of the Department of Anthropology in the National Taiwan University, the Museum of the Institute of Ethnography in the Academia Sinica, the Shun-yi Aboriginal Museum, the National Museum of Natural Science, and the National Museum of Prehistory. In addition, I also investigated several foreign museums that hold Formosa collections, such as the Royal Ontario Museum in Ontario, Canada, the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Cambridge, as well as the Pitt Rivers Museum at the University of Oxford in UK, Musee de l'Homme in Paris, France, and Museum of Ethnology in Berlin, Germany. From these museums, I have collected about 200 photographic images of Saisiyat people and objects referring to a time period from the 1890s to 1940s. They were brought back to indigenous villages and used as visual tools in interviews. Many Saisiyat expressed their enthusiasm to look at the collected images. They frequently gazed on old photos and recalled some fragmented family or personal stories evoked by those images. Thus, some people showed their desires to have copies of these images. In the end, old Saisiyat photos that provoked their memories became the best warm-up aids when I was in the field.

Thirdly, a long durational participate observation was developed in the field. The fieldworks I made in the Saisiyat district was dispersed into many separate trips over nine years. As I mentioned before, my first trip to the Saisiyat district took place in November 1995. Within that period, I spent eight months travelling around 10 Saisiyat villages to investigate the contemporary material culture of the Saisiyat for a government-appointed project (Hu 1996). During the first phase of intensive fieldwork, I was surprised by the enthusiasm of the Saisiyat in performing ritual practices and their strong sense of identity in unprivileged socio-political circumstances. Since then, my interest gradually focused on the inter-relations between the collective consciousness and the material representation in the ritual practices of the Saisiyat. Thus, after finishing the first project, I made a series of short trips to Saisiyat villages every year. Each of them consisted of few days' duration, but was scheduled to attend major annual rituals or irregular life cycle rituals held by the Saisiyat. Sometimes, newly created cultural-tourism events were also included. In this way, I participated many Saisiyat activities and interviewed many ritual officiators or specialists.

From September 2001 to March 2002, I conducted another seven months of intensive fieldwork focusing on issues of the memory and the objectified past for this thesis project. Within this period, my study was mainly focused on addressing issues in terms of three considerations. First were the variations of cultural memory within the Saisiyat. Thus, other than ritual experts, I interviewed people of different generations, genders, occupations, or locations to picture out the primary concerns in their memory and identify variations of memory toward the same event within the Saisiyat. Second was the integrated framework of material system, ritual operation, and other socio-cultural arrangements. Thus, other than investigating material and ritual phenomena, I attended other social-political activities in order to have a more integrated view towards local concepts of time, body, past, and identity. Third was the role of women in ritual and cultural transmission. Thus, I placed more emphasis on women of different ages to see their foci of memory and their roles in ritual practices. In sum, the second phase of intensive fieldwork was extended to examine the acts of past over diverse discourses based on distinct social loci in the present along temporal, geographic, and social axes. By attending divergent social activities mainly in two villages at Nanzhuang Township of Miaoli County where most of the Saisiyat people congregate, I have achieved a more in-depth comprehension of Saisiyat society and culture. However, this study is better described as multi-scheduled than multi-sited. The successive interlocutions with the Saisiyat for these years have pushed and extended the way I saw things in many aspects. After talking to people across different Saisiyat clans and settlements, I attempted to weave different voices in the text, even though some of them may not agree with my viewpoints.

1-3. The Interpretive Setting

This thesis presents aspects of Saisiyat life centred on the expressive modalities that are objectified, experienced, and accumulated through ritual performances. In order to better represent Saisiyat's perspectives of the past as well as their specific strategies and techniques to recall and re-enact the past, the writing is mainly organized by topics, in which a trajectory of arguments might emerge. By doing so, in Chapter 2, I present the general geographical and historical context on

which the Saisiyat society has developed their life experiences over the past few centuries, as well as the narratives of the Saisiyat past from different perspectives. In relating to the frontier confrontations, the Saisiyat past is reflected from the outsiders' perspectives in the historical writings on the one hand. On the other hand, it is expressed from the indigenous perspective in the Saisiyat myths, legends, and stories. These accounts show that, as an ethnic minority and a marginal society on the frontier, the Saisiyat have perceived their distinctive consciousness through the mediations of external forces and internal agencies. The distinctiveness of the 'self' has been identified through constantly sensing and responding to 'others'. Through the discourses from within and without, the past of the Saisiyat is conceptualised, mediated, and renegotiated based on the accumulated frontier experiences.

Chapter 3 builds on the social foundation which presents personal names, both clan names and individual given names, as inherited resources in formulating social networks and initiating meaningful interactions. These names not only provide a conceptualised framework of social classifications, but are also conceived as ancestral substances to enhance life forces in the individual body. Thus, with substantial and imagery properties, personal names are the most fundamental devices for the Saisiyat to define their social positions and to link with ancestors.

In Chapter 4, 'Recalling the Spirits of the Past', the discussion is focused on the concept of being a 'Saisiyat' and the accumulated ritual essences for becoming a Saisiyat and achieving 'Saisiyatness'. I also present here that in contrast to a highly adaptive approach to cope with others in terms of economic-political affairs, the Saisiyat express a conventional approach in their ritual practices, which are regarded as inherited rights and obligations of serving and satisfying the *tatinii* ('ancestors' or 'spirits of the past'). Many Saisiyat rituals, either annual rituals or life-cycle rituals, are widely and abundantly practiced in various contexts nowadays. Even though many ritual performances are manipulative and transformative in terms of names, functions, formal and symbolic contents, or calendar systems, certain anchored substances and properties have kept generating persistent ritual themes and *tatinii* images. Thus, it is in the cyclically replicated

ritual operations that the past can be transformatively but vividly enacted in the present.

Chapter 5, 'Material Symbols and Analogical Links', concerns the physical objects and actions represented and reproduced in ritual contexts as pivotal linkages to the past. The material symbol is not a sign of one meaning. It is usually multivocal; either one sign refers to many meanings; or many signs refer to one meaning. The multi-faceted material qualities in objects and acts offer analogical linkages (metaphorically or metonymically) which can transfer meanings from things in one domain to things in a totally different domain. Thus, material indexes express higher creativity in making connections.

Chapter 6, 'Incorporating Practices', draws an analysis of the mode of memory which strongly rely on incorporating practices among the Saisiyat. In the repetitive ritual practices, many objects and acts are highlighted as memory foci to provoke and evoke memories. The physical qualities and bodily experiences shape a distinctive sensory preference for the Saisiyat to recognize and realize the world. In fact, the elaboration of material and sensory qualities is persuasiveness not only in non-verbal forms, but also in verbal forms. For example, the sounds and rhythms of words and rhetoric analogies in verses are stressed in verbal expressions. Thus, it is through a synesthetic process that material and sensory qualities direct to fluid and transformative relatedness among the Saisiyat. Accordingly, two distinctive features in the mode of memory were identified to serve the special demands of this indigenous group: (1) creative relatedness, and (2) confined possessiveness.

Chapter 7 offers a closing commentary on some of the recent issues on the expectations, competitions, and negotiations of the Saisiyat with regard to the commercialization and the museumification of ancestral heritages in the contemporary world. It comes with anxieties of the loss of ancestral memories and desires on the control of ancestral heritages in the post-modern world. However, as desirable, debatable, and contestable ancestral resources, the past of the Saisiyat is continuously being modified in the present to shape and reshape the consciousness and boundaries of the Saisiyat.

Chapter 2
Saisiyat as an Indigenous Society in the History of a Borderland

In order to understand the ambiguous and dynamic characteristics of the Saisiyat in the midst of rapid social-political changes caused by encountering divergent external forces, this chapter presents my attempt to provide a demographical, geographical and historical background to contextualize different perspectives on the formation and transformation of a group of local people who lived and interacted in the Saisiyat district since the end of 17th century .

2-1. The Saisiyat People and the Saisiyat District

People of the Saisiyat mainly inhabit an inland district situated in a semitropical region which is about 80 kilometres north of the Tropic of Cancer. It spans approximately 1,000 square kilometres, and stretches along the lower hills at the juncture of plain and mountainous areas. The coastal line is about 25 kilometres to its west. On sunny days, the sea may be seen indistinctly from the higher mountainous spots of the Saisiyat lands. In this region, the height varies greatly, from 120 to 2,200 metres above sea level. A few very high mountains, such as Mt. Erkongji (1,579m), Mt. Wuzhi (1,062m), Mt. Dawo (1,642m), Mt. Niaozhuei (1,551m), Mt. Shenzhuo (762m), Mt. Pakwali (1,001m), and Mt. Jiali (2,200m), surround the region and act as a natural barrier.

The annual temperature varies between 5℃ and 35℃, with an average of about 18-20℃. The annual precipitation is around 2,500 mm, and humidity is over 80% throughout the year. Since huge amounts of water are brought by typhoons from June to September, these often cause serious torrents and landslides which hamper transportation and damage the settlements. From November to March when the northeast monsoon comes, the weather is wet, chilly, and misty; the atmosphere in the area becomes mysterious and heavy. The climate and richness of the soil conspire to produce luxuriant vegetation. Various

kinds of trees, flowers, ferns, and grasses completely cover the ground. Fir, pine, camphor, oak, chestnut, mulberry, wild banana, mountain palm, bamboo, and rattan are very popular in the woods. The Saisiyat are very knowledgeable and sensitive to the flora in their area. Different plants and leaves are frequently used in daily lives and rituals. In the past, the area was also rich in wild animals, birds, snakes, and river fish. People used to hunt wild boars and deer for food and ritual offerings. With rapid population growth and land development, however, there remain very few wild animals in the area now. Generally speaking, the natural features of the Saisiyat settlement form an admirable landscape with river terraces, deep canyons, undulating hills, crooked mountain streams, and evergreen trees. Thus, this area has become one of the most popular tourist destinations in Taiwan in recent years; many people from cities come to spend their holidays in the area.

Nowadays, the Saisiyat are spread in about 30 small clusters. These clusters are widely scattered on the slopes and riverbanks of mountain valleys along the upstream of three rivers which are located within three townships of two counties, according to the current official administrative system. These are (1) the Wufeng township in Xinzhu county along the Shangping River, (2) the Nanzhuang township in Miaoli county along the Zhonggang River, and (3) the Shitan township in Miaoli county along the Shitan River. Nowadays, these settlements are popularly divided into two subregional groups. One is the North Saisiyat group in Xinzhu county, and the other one is the South Saisiyat group in Miaoli county (see Firgue 2).

In general, about 40% of the Saisiyat population (432 households) lives in South Saisiyat, while 30% (242 households) lives in North Saisiyat. The other 30% is now in big cities, but many of them frequently go back to their villages during holidays and rituals. My research was conducted mainly in two villages in South Saisiyat–the Donghe village along the Dong (East) River and the Ponglai village along the Nan (South) River at the Nanzhuang township in Miaoli county which majority of the Saisiyat population is located.[1]

---

[1] There are several small Saisiat settlements in these two administrative villages, where over 30% of the Saisiyat population (284 households) is inhabited within.

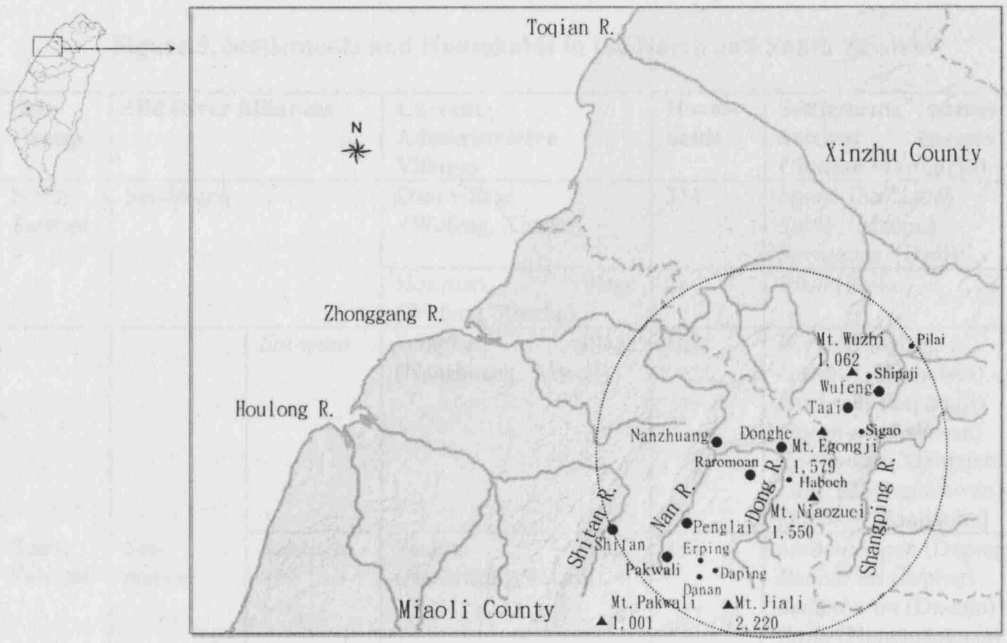


Figure 2. The Saisiyat District and Its Settlements

Actually, the division between North and South Saisiyat is the product of a long historical process, though it is more reflective of an old defence and alliance system of the Saisiyat. The Saisiyat clusters were small and scattered in the past. They were loosely structured with multiple-layered connections. The small clusters called '*aha rito*' ranged in size from 3 to 10 households of related patriclans. Several '*aha ritos*' in the vicinity were regarded as '*kinatsangna*'. Several adjacent '*kinatsangnas*' formed a settlement unit called '*asang*' where communal cultivation, hunting or fishing matters, and problems were sorted out together. Different '*asangs*' along the same river constituted an alliance of '*aha wara*' (literally meaning 'one river') or '*aha boehoe*'('one bow') in order to deal with larger disputes or fights against outside threats. There had been three major '*ahae waras*' in the Saisiyat lands, namely, '*Sai-kirapa*' in the Shangping River, '*Sai-waro*' and '*Sai-rayin*' in the Zhunggang River, and '*Sai-sawe*' in the Shitan River. Though old river alliances lost their functions when the Saisiyat were put under strict modern state control since the beginning of the 20th century, their names are still used to refer to the associated regions. Thus, the North Saisiyat are

called '*Sai-kirapa*', while the South Saisiyat which comprise '*Sai-waro*' or '*Sai-rayin*' and '*Sai-shawe*' are usually called '*Sai-nanson*'.

Figure 3. Settlements and Households in the North and South Saisiyat

Sub-Group	Old River Alliances		Current Administrative Villages	House-holds	Settlements names in Saisiyat (names in Chinese Mandarin)
North Saisiyat	*Sai-kirapa*		Daai village (Wufeng, Xinzhu)	214	*Sipaji* (Shibazhi) *Sigao* (Maopu) *Saiyahoru* (Daai)
			Huayuan village (Wufeng, Xinzhu)	28	*Pirai* (Beilai)
South Saisiyat	*Sai-nanson*	*Sai-waro*	Donghe village (Nanzhuang, Miaoli)	163	*Waro* (Donghe) *Sewazai* (Dazhuwei) *Hororok'* (Ergongji) *Garawan* (Jialawan) *Raromoan* (Xiangtianhu) *Lalai* (Zhongjialawan) *Haboeh'* (Sanjiaohu)
		Sai-rayin	Penglai village (Nanzhuang, Miaoli)	138	*Maomaongan* (Daping) *Babato'an* (Erping) *Saikinbu'an* (Da-nan) *Raiin* (Hongmaoguan) *Sangaraeh* (Sishierfen) Kahkahhoeyan (Pakwali)
			Nanjiang village (Nanzhuang, Miaoli)	67	*Sinpalihahan* (Nanjiang) *Ririyan* (Lijinguan) *Mahahabun* (Maguoping) *Se'e* (Changchixia) *Papalaang* (Funan)
			Dong village (Nanzhuang, Miaoli)	13	*Lalaang* (Nanzhuang) *pinSa'ang* (Nanzhuang)
			Xi village (Nanzhuang, Miaoli)	21	*Raihaba* (Dawukeng)
			Tianmei village (Nanzhuang, Miaoli)	1	
			Shishan village (Nanzhuang, Miaoli)	2	
	Sai-sawe		Yongxin village (Shitan, Miaoli)	12	(Yongxin)
			Baishou village (Shitan, Miaoli)	9	(Sanqiakeng)

(Sources: Lim 2000:12; Chen 1998:5-19; and the author's field data in 2001)

Other than the concept of river alliances, the division of North-South Saisiyat was formalized and fixed when the Japanese colonial government moved the aboriginal border to cut across the Saisiyat lands in the early 20th century.[2] From

[2] Many Saisiyat settlements were relocated for economic and administrative reasons. The most recent case was in 1929; a major Saisiyat settlement named *Amish was* relocated from the East River Basin to the new hamlets in *Saikinbu'an* (Danan in Mandarin), *Maomaongan* (Daping in Mandarin), and *Babato'an* (Erping in Mandarin) in the South River Basin.

1904 to 1920, settlements in South Saisiyat were gradually classified into the 'Normal Administrative District', while settlements around North Saisiyat were classified into the 'Aboriginal Administrative District'. Since then, the Saisiyat villages have been divided into two different administrative districts. Electricity-wired fences and police patrol stations were established along the borderline. People in these two districts receive different orders and resources from the local and central governments.[3] The administrative boundary has affected the Saisiyat not just in the fields of economics and politics but also in relation to their ritual practices. The *pas-taai* ritual which used to be a congregation for all Saisiyat people to come together has been separately held in the two districts since the early 1900s. However, marriage exchanges and other social activities on a smaller scale are still practiced actively, crossing the boundary of the two districts.

Social life in the Saisiyat settlements has also been transformed greatly due to outside influences. The previous self-sustainable hunting, fishing, and slash-and-burn agriculture were gradually disappearing. The old concept of land as a shared natural resource led to serious conflicts with the arrival of Han Chinese settlers who treated the land as property.[4] Most lands in the Saisiyat area were gradually occupied and registered as personal or national properties by new settlers according to state laws. Accordingly, the Saisiyat changed to work as border guardsmen, camphor workers, coal miners, or timber workers. Many Saisiyat villagers now make their living either by cultivating economic crops, such as flowers, vegetables, mushrooms, or exotic fruits; raising pound-fish or livestock; working in factories or government organizations; or running eateries, small restaurants, motels, or handicraft shops in relation to the tourism business.

---

[3] People in the 'Normal Administrative District' were free to travel, but those in the 'Aboriginal Administrative District' were restricted from moving, trading, utilizing the land, and other activities. After the KMT government from China took back Taiwan in 1945, a similar land system was sustained, but the names were modified into 'Plain Administrative District' and 'Mountainous Administrative District'. In 1997, the term 'Indigenous People' was officially applied for political correction; thus, 'Mountainous Administrative District' was changed again to 'Indigenous Administrative District'. Finally, most of the patrol stations in the border were dismantled.

[4] 'Han Chinese' is a generic ethnic term which refers to the people and their descendants who immigrated to Taiwan from mainland China. Sometimes, 'Han' is also a popularly used label.

All Saisiyat settlements are now populated with people of different ethnic backgrounds. Many Hakka-speaking inhabitants live in the villages of South Saisiyat where the Saisiyat lifestyle exhibits a very strong Hakka influence. In North Saisiyat where Atayal influence is much stronger, many Atayal indigenous people mingle with the Saisiyat. The Saisiyats are aware of these external influences and internal differences. There are two Saisiyat terms, *motoila* and *saipapasila*, which were created to describe the phenomena of becoming *moto* (Hakka Chinese) and of becoming *saipapas* (Atayal indigenous people). Because of these circumstances, most Saisiyat people speak several languages. Those belonging to older generations usually speak Saisiyat, Hakka, or Atayal in daily conservations, but some also speak Japanese and Mandarin. Those belonging to younger generations, however, usually speak Mandarin, but many also speak Saisiyat, Atayal, Hakka, and Holok. Therefore, the Saisiyat language is not widely spoken by young people; very few below the age of 40 speak Saisiyat fluently. Based on a study in 1998, only about 13.9% speak Saisiyat in a Saisiyat family, which is the lowest rate among indigenous groups (Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs 1998). Other than the field of language, it is apparent that rapid 'learning', 'adopting', and 'transforming' are evident in many different domains of the Saisiyat's social life, such as food, apparel, houses, works, and so on.

It is this ambiguous phenomenon in the Saisiyat culture that raised my interest to question the collective memory, sense of the past, and continuity of the Saisiyat people. There are a few questions that I would like to look at. First, how could such a small, mobile, and mixed community sustain a sense of integration and collectivity despite experiencing intensive confrontations, conflicts, and changes over long periods of history? Second, what kind of 'sense of continuity' or 'connectedness' is derived from their conceptualisation of the past? Thirdly, in which way the coherence and continued past could be transmitted which explains and encompasses the tremendous diversities? Fourthly, what are the special mnemonic mechanisms developed by the Saisiyat to recall, reproduce, and re-enact memories of the past through which they form a vision of their future? These questions are related to the formation of a community's identity that expresses social solidarity and diversity at the same time. Durkheim has argued

that social cohesiveness occurs because individuals are encompassed by a higher sacred order in a heightened ritual activity (Durkheim [1912] 1965).

However, in the case of Saisiyat, I would like to emphasize that their ethnic boundary is more fluid and is in the process of continuous construction (cf. Barth 1969, 1975; Harrison 1999). Their identity heavily rests on maintaining an exclusive association with a distinctive set of symbolic practices and objects (Weiner 1992; Harrison 1999). More importantly, these material and non-material identity symbols, as important mnemonic resources, are also dynamically transformed through times. In his inspiring work of collective memory, Halbwach points out that memory is selective in the collective context, and in a dialectical way, the mnemonic resources of the past evoke the memory and is evoked by the memory (Halbwach [1925]1980). Based on this assumption, the sense of continuity has to be based on local conceptions of the past. Thus, I will try to draw some historical sketches to explore how the past is locally mediated, understood, memorized, and represented in terms of long conversations of confrontation, resistance, and hybridity, as well as how the past is articulated within the present (cf. Lambek 2002).

2-2. Confrontations on the Shifting Aboriginal Border

Looking back at the regional history from the historical writings, we find that the area of the Saisiyat was situated on the shifting Chinese-Aboriginal border for a very long period of time. The Saisiyat moved following the encroachment of the inland frontier. Though I have to say that most of the early records made by Chinese elites or government officials were biased from the viewpoints of writers, and the term 'Saisiyat' did not even appear until the second half of 19th century,[5] some written records did provide information about ethnic interactions and relations in the Saisiyat area from the 17th century. Through the twisted viewpoints in the historical materials, we can still derive some information about

[5] The first writing which mentioned a term related to 'Saisiyat' is in the *Records of Investigation in Xinzhu Prefecture* written by a local Han Chinese literati Chen Chao-lung in 1894; Chen [1894] 1999: 403.

the Saisiyat people, who appeared as native inhabitants only reacting to a violation of the frontier habitation. In contrast to the outsiders' depictions, there are myths, legends and stories popularly told among the Saisiyat that could give us an insight into the Saisiyat attitude toward 'others' and about foreign encounters. Thus, in this and the following sections, I aim to present the past of the Saisiyat from two different perspectives.

From historical writings, we know that non-Han indigenous groups were the ethnic majority in Taiwan before the 17th century. As the first colonial power which controlled Taiwan from 1624 to 1662, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) started to import increasing numbers of farmers and labourers from mainland China to work for the company. However, the ethnic balance was not dramatically changed until 1662, with the invasion of the Han Chinese under the leadership of Zheng Chenggong, a Ming dynasty loyalist and warlord.[6] According to Chinese documents, many indigenous people served as labourers under the Zheng rule. The first written account that bore narratives relating to the Saisiyat was in the book entitled *Tai-wan-wai-ji* (*Unofficial Record of Taiwan*) written by a Chinese writer Jiang Ri-sheng in 1704. It describes,

> In 1662, Zheng Chenggong managed to pacify the indigenes in Taiwan. He sent official representatives ('*tong-shi*') to indigenous villages to collect taxes. Many villages had collaborated, such as Houlong, Xinggang, Zhuqian villages in the coastal plains of the northwestern Taiwan. However, in 1682 when Zheng Keshuang, the grandson of Zheng Chenggong, was on the leading seat, the Qing emperor invaded Taiwan from China. Zheng Keshuang recruited a lot of indigenous labourers to carry military facilities and supplies. Whether man or woman, or old or young, everyone was asked to leave their villages and work for the military forces. The indigenous life was seriously disturbed and threatened. Thus, many indigenous villages rebelled, among which were Xinggang, Zhonggang, and Zhuqian villages. Zheng ordered General Chen Jiang and his army to suppress the rebellions. Many natives surrendered and went back to their original settlements, but those who did not want to surrender fled eastward to hide in nearby mountains of Sanwan, Beipu, and Ermei.' (Jiang 1960[1704]: 398)

---

[6] Zheng Chenggong came to Taiwan from China after the collapse of the Ming dynasty. He was popularly called '*Koxinga*' by Europeans, which means 'the Lord with a royal surname'.

Since Sanwan, Beipu, and Ermei were localities where the Saisiyat assembled in the early 19th century, this record became a popular resource recited in many other writings which claim that the Saisiyat were descendants of the plain indigenes who fled to the mountains in the 17th century.[7]

In 1684, Taiwan was incorporated into the Qing Chinese Empire after the Zheng Family was defeated. Soon after, the Han population rapidly increased on the coastal plain of Taiwan due to mass immigrations from China. After a major rebellion made by Han settlers in the 1720s, the Qing government started to establish a 'savage border' in order to limit the expansion of Han Chinese settlers into the inner mountains. It was a construction built along the mountains from the north to the south of Taiwan by piling up earth and stone, which was called '*tu-nio-xian*' ('oxen line') in Chinese (Shih 1991, 2001; Shepherd 1995). According to an early document, a stone marker of the savage borderline was set beside Mt. Toufenjian, a locality near the downstream of the Zhonggang River, around 1722. At first, there was no noticeable uprising in the 'savage border' until the Qing government suppressed another major rebellion of Han settlers, with the assistance of some plain indigenous villages in the 1790s. Since then, the government started to set up settled soldier posts along the border, appoint plain indigenes as settled soldiers ('*tung-di*' in Chinese), and grant rights of wasteland to them. According to the records, a plot of land near Sanwan was granted to the plain indigenes of Xinggang village. This indicates that the aboriginal frontier had gradually shifted inwards by the end of the 18th century.

Other archives, land deeds, and legal documents showed that interactions between the indigenous people and the Han settlers in the Saisiyat area increased starting from the 19th century. A well-known example was the case of Huang Qiying, a Hakka Chinese man who was the first person, according to archives, to cross the boundary and develop intimate relationships with the native inhabitants of the Saisiyat area. According to the records, Huang arrived in Douhuanping in

---

[7] Zhong-gang, Xing-gang, and Zhuqian were all classified as villages belonging to a plain indigenous group--'Taokas' by Ino (1899), a Japanese pioneer ethnologist in Taiwan. The record further claimed that the Saisiyat were descendants of Taokas who fled to the inner mountains at the end of 17th century. Thus, the Saisiyats were regarded as a subgroup of Taokas in early indigenous classifications; Ino 1898, 1899, 1904.

1805 and worked as a merchant-trader with the indigenous peoples.[8] He developed a friendship with an indigenous headman named 'Zhang Jiali' (*kale* of the *Minakes* clan), married the headman's daughter, and was given an indigenous name of '*Dounai*'. Moreover, he brought his friends Zhang Daman and Zhang Ximan to Nanzhuang in order to cultivate the land (Ino 1904). They seemed to be the first Chinese settlers who encroached into the Nanzhuang area. Later, Huang was beheaded by the Qing government with following the accusation of being a gangster who 'brought the raw savages out of the mountains to help in the fighting', since he was involved in a serious ethnic fighting incident between Hokka Chinese and Hoklo Chinese in 1826 (Sun [1831]1987: 688, 699–700).

However, the Chinese settlers did not withdraw from the Saisiyat area after the death of Huang. It is shown in the *Gazetteer of Danshui Subprefecture* (Chen 1871) that the government set up a formal settled soldier post and settlers' guard station around Sanwan after 1826, where settled soldiers and guardsmen were sent to safeguard the Chinese settlers. Anyhow, in the case of Huang, it vividly shows that in the early 19th century, the active interactions between Chinese settlers and indigenous peoples were through trade, friendship, marriage, name giving, and land cultivation; the complexities, conflicts, and disputes on the frontier were also very evident in the 19th century.

Another major encroachment of Chinese forces into the Saisiyat area was through a joint land-cultivation company named 'Jing-guang-fu' which was established by a group of rich Chinese settlers and the local government in Xinzhu. In 1834, 'Jing-guang-fu' set up a guard station headquarters in Beipu and organized armed movements in the mountain valleys. Following this expansion, they built many guard stations on the border and hired armed guards to fight with the resisted indigenous inhabitants. According to archives on 'Jing-guang-fu', over 30 indigenous settlements in Beipu, Ermei, and Zhudong were pushed into the higher mountains around Mt. Wuzhi within 30 years. More surprisingly, in the payrolls of border guards from the 'Jing-guang-fu' archives, it was shown that the

[8] A trading post was established in Douhuanping at that time, where Chinese merchants brought salt, metal, copper, beads, or cotton cloth to exchange with the deerskins, rattan, ramie, and wild herbs of the mountain's indigenous people.

indigenous guards increased in number and Chinese guards decreased in number from the 1830s to the 1880s.

By 1886, almost half of the armed garrison guards ('*ai-ting*' in Chinese) were indigenous people, and half of them were Hakka Chinese (Wu 2000). This means that the indigenous inhabitants in the Saisiyat area gradually stopped head-on clashes to resist armed Han settlers and gradually adopted strategies of appropriation and collaboration.[9] Quite a few of them worked for Chinese settlers and became hired guards to defend the border; in return, they received payments of cash, salt, pork, and clothes from the Chinese settlers. However, disputes over lands did not cease. From a few registered legal complaints in 1886, we find that eight headmen from six indigenous settlements in the 'Jing-guang-fu' developing area claimed that Han Chinese settlers sent by the 'Jing-guang-fu' occupied their lands and threatened the survival of the native people.[10]

In the mid-19th century when camphor became an important export of Taiwan, tension reached its peak in the Saisiyat territory because it was one of the major camphor districts in Taiwan.[11] More and more camphor workers, traders, and businessmen were attracted to take the risk of going beyond the frontier, which inevitably caused increasing indigenous raids in the mountainous area. In the 1880s, the Qing government conducted its strongest military operations across the boundaries to open the indigenous lands for exploitation under the policy of '*kaishan fufan*' (Opening the Mountains and Pacifying the Savages). Governor Liu Minchuan, with the assistance of Han Chinese local forces, waged war on the mountain indigenous settlements from 1886 to 1889. It was a very violent and horrible stage on the frontier. Records stated that indigenes frequently practiced headhunting in the Han Chinese villages, while the Chinese sold 'savage flesh' or

---

[9] Most indigenous names recorded in the payroll sounded very similar to the Saisiyat's inherited male names, such as *tayin*, *suyen*, *atao*, *umao*, *eteh*, *taro*, *kale*, *baunai*, *yubai*, etc.

[10] From the recorded names of these indigenous headmen (Zhu tama, Do *yumin*, Do *watan*, Zhu *kale*, Qian *talo*, Zhu *maai*, Xia *eteh*), we can identify that they were Saisiyat. The serious land disputes during this year temporarily ceased through the efforts of a Han Chinese lady named Jiang-Hu (mother of the leader in 'Jing-guang-fu'), who donated money to purchase a piece of land from Han settlers and returned the land to the indigenous people. See cases 177330.1-10 in the Dan-Xin Archives.

[11] Though the camphor industry was started in Taiwan much earlier, it became more important after the 1850s when Taiwan was opened to western trade, and a method to distill camphor in the manufacture of celluloid was found; Takekoshi 1907.

'savage paste' in the open markets like pork meat (Davison 1992[1903]: 254; Hu 1960[1894]: 31-32). In a memorial that Liu presented to the Qing emperor, he claimed that over 120 indigenous settlements were pacified, and 148,479 indigenous people surrendered during this period. According to Liu, settlements in the Saisiyat area such as Shilixing (*Sai-raiin*) and Shitan surrendered in 1886, the first year of pacification; native inhabitants from this area became local guides who assisted in pacifying the movements (Liu 1958:229-234).

In fact, the camphor business had a tremendous influence on the lives of the Saisiyat. A camphor dispute case found in the Dan-Xin archives expresses clearly the shifting relationships among the Saisiyat headmen (Ri Akuai and Si Youmei), the local Han strongman and entrepreneur (Chen Zhenxiang), and the duty collector in the local tax station (Wei Qisheng).[12] In this case, the son of the duty collector Wei went to the local court and charged camphor entrepreneur Chen with smuggling camphor, evading taxation, and kidnapping his father with the assistance of an armed gang consisting of several indigenous people ('*sheng-fan*', 'raw savages' in his words) in 1887. A month later, two indigenous headmen, Ri Akwai (*akwai* of the *Tanohila* Clan in Saisiyat) and Si Youmei (*yubai* of the *Tatai'si* Clan in Saisiyat) brought the lawsuit to the Military Headquarters of the Pacification Affairs of Northern Taiwan in Taipei and accused the duty collector Wei with taking two tribesmen as captives ('*hua-fan*', 'semisubordinate savages' in their words). In the statements of the indigenous headmen, they defended that, in 1883, they produced 35 loads of camphor in their refineries and asked Chen to bring the camphor to sell in Taipei .[13] The camphor fee was supposed to be the living expenses for all indigenous villagers, but Wei confiscated Chen's camphor with the excuse of there being a tax problem. This case caused tension among different administrative offices. The court did not try to reach a justified conclusion because in the first place Chen was not supposed to stay too close to indigenous people. It was believed that a person like Chen could encourage

[12] The Dan-Xin Archives (*Dan-Xin dang an*) is a collection of records of local government offices in Zhuqian and Danshui from 1812-1895, which preserves the records over 1143 proceedings. Wu 1987; Allee 1994.

[13] Chen had a license from the Taiwan Arsenal to distill camphor in the aboriginal settlement of Shilixing ('*Sai-raiin*' in Saisiyat).

indigenous people to make trouble. In the end, this case was settled by putting Chen in jail for six years and releasing him only when he became very old and ill. Nonetheless, this case provides us a picture of the camphor business and the local life in the Saisiyat area from various aspects, such as the camphor market and trading route, smuggling and taxation, indigenous camphor production, camphor money and village living expenses, and others. It seemed that a few Saisiyat headmen cooperated with Han-Chinese businessmen in smuggling within the camphor business; they were also aware of the dilemma and desire of the government to avoid disputes and to promote peaceful indigenous settlements. From this point, we can say that the Saisiyat were obviously not just passive victims, but they were also capable of taking advantages of outsiders actively.

Due to the benefits of the camphor business, the two Saisiyat headmen mentioned above became very wealthy and powerful figures in the area by the end of the 19th century. For example, Ri Akuai was awarded a sixth rank military badge of merit (*lioupin jungong*), and he registered a cultivation company called 'Lian-xin-zhuang' which had an authorized license to employ settlers. Needless to say, he was also highly involved in camphor cultivation and distillation. According to the notes made by a Japanese investigator, Akuai and his family lived in a big Han Chinese style house with a western clock and oil lamp hanging inside (Ino 1897: 102). Many records during this period show that more and more Saisiyat, especially headmen, used Han Chinese names, wore Han Chinese clothes, and collaborated with Han Chinese businessmen, settlers, or officials when there were benefits. This is the reason why the Saisiyat were regarded as being sinicized (becoming Han Chinese) even from a long time ago.

However, the situation changed again after the Japanese took control of Taiwan in 1895. Unlike the Qing government, the Japanese tried to place all lands in Taiwan within the domain of its modern state, including the lands behind the aboriginal frontier. In order to facilitate better control and development of aboriginal lands, the Japanese established three special bureaus: Wu-zhi-shan Bureau of Pacification and Development, Nan-zhuang Bureau of Pacification and Development, and Da-hu Bureau of Pacification and Development, along the border in the Xingzhu and Miaoli area from 1896 to1897. Trading posts were set

near the bureaus. In 1898, however, the Japanese government declared a monopoly on the camphor business. Camphor and camphor oil were turned over by the manufacturers to the government, and all manufacturers had to apply for a license, according to Camphor Regulations (Takekoshi [1907]1997).[14] Indigenous headmen had no rights to collect fees from businessmen from the outside for using their forest resources and setting camphor stoves in the indigenous territory, following the old customs from the Qing period. With the enforcement of the monopoly, there were increasing attacks from the indigenous people in the camphor districts. Thus, the Japanese government, adopting the frontier defence system from the Qing government, established guardlines ('*Aiyu*' line in Japanese) along the boundaries of aboriginal districts and placed more guardsmen ('*Aiyu*' which means 'garrison braves') on the border in order to protect camphor workers in the aboriginal districts (see Photo 2-2).[15] Three bureaus of pacification and development were abolished in the Saisiyat territory; all aboriginal affairs were put under the control of police institutes.

Due to the rising tension and mistrust on the frontier, the Saisiyat headman Ri Akuai attacked the Japanese police station and military station in Nanzhuang with 500 Saisiyat, Atayal, and Han-Chinese people in July 1902. The Japanese sent numerous military troops to suppress the fighting, but they were not able to reach the settlement of Akwai for several months because of mountains serving as natural barriers. In the end, the Japanese military officers called for a peace negotiation and invited Akwai and his followers to a feast held by the Nanzhuang River. Many indigenous people (the Saisiyat and Atayal) attended since they heard that meat, wine, and some gifts were to be given by the Japanese. In the middle of the feast and the drinking, the Japanese military opened fire and shot those who attended. Many people were killed and wounded.[16] However, Akwai

---

[14] Ri Akwai registered 140 camphor stoves with 83 large pots and 1,297 small pots; Zhang Youhuai (*Yubai*, headman of the *Babai* clan in *Garawan* settlement) registered 11 stoves with 302 pots; Si Dawei (*taboh*, son of Si Youmei) registered 195 stoves with 165 large pots and 304 small pots; Li 1999: 48-49.

[15] About 1,500 were employed as border guards and were classified into three divisions: *Aiyu*, *Keitei*, and *Sotei* by the Japanese Takekoshi [1907]1997: 180-181.

[16] In Japanese records, 39 indigenous people were killed in the incident because indigenous people tried to revolt again. In the Saisiyat narratives, the killing was a set-up and the number of

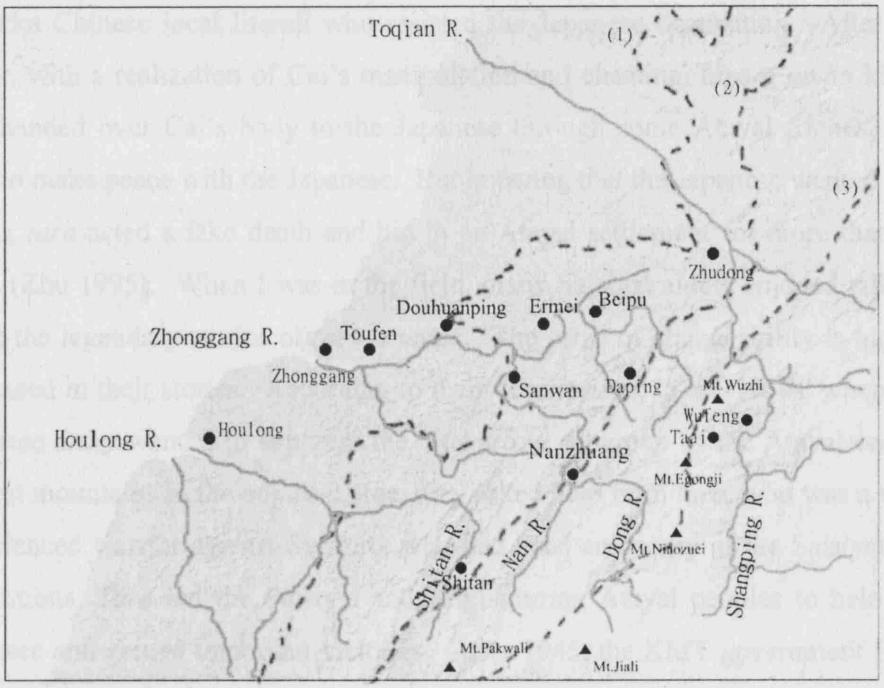


Figure 4. Shifting Aboriginal Borders in Northwestern Taiwan: (1) 1750s-1790s, (2) 1790s-1890s, (3) 1904-1945] (Reference: Shih 1991, 2001; Wang 2004)

was able to escape, and hid on the high mountains near Mt. Jiali until he died a year later in 1903. At the end of this incident('Nanzhuang Incident' in historical records), the Japanese government confiscated all lands registered under the name of Akwai.[17] As a result, the Nanzhuang area was placed under the 'Normal Administrative District' in 1904. The Saisiyat lands were cut across by the guardlines, and the aboriginal borders were once again pushed inland under Japanese rule.

Only a few years later, in 1907, *taro a umau*, a famous head-hunting warrior in the Saisiyat and the headman of the Daai settlement in the Wufeng area, made another serious attack against the Japanese and killed at least 50 Japanese policemen in Beipu (recorded as 'Beipu incident' in the Japanese official documents). According to the Saisiyat, this incident was instigated by Cai Qinlin,

---

casualties was much higher.

[17] *Akwai*'s great grandson *atau* once showed me several land taxation receipts that *akwai* paid to the Japanese government before the incident. He said *akwai* asked his descendants to keep these receipts safely and secretly before he died in the mountains. *akwai* believed they could get their lands back some day with these evidences.

a Hakka Chinese local literati who resisted the Japanese occupation. After the attack, with a realization of Cai's manipulation and cheating, *taro a umao* killed Cai, handed over Cai's body to the Japanese through some Atayal friends, and tried to make peace with the Japanese. But knowing that the Japanese wanted him to die, *taro* acted a fake death and hid in an Atayal settlement for more than 20 years (Zhu 1995). When I was in the field, many Saisiyat elders enjoyed talking about the legendary stories of *taro a umau*. The prize of changeability is highly expressed in their stories. According to their descriptions, in the 1930s, when the Japanese army wanted to suppress the Syakaro, a subgroup of the Atayal on the highest mountains in the adjacent area, they asked help from *taro*, who was a very experienced warrior against Syakaro, who had been an enemy of the Saisiyat for generations. *Taro* led the Saisiyat and neighbouring Atayal peoples to help the Japanese and gained important victories. After 1945, the KMT government from China took over Taiwan. *Taro a umau*, who had already changed his name to a Han Chinese name, 'Zhao Mingzheng', by that time, was highly praised and was awarded by the new government for his attack on the Japanese in 1907. In 1951, *taro*'s son, Zhao Xinhua was appointed as the county mayor. Some Saisiyat people said that President Chiang Kaishek had once received *taro* in the Presidential Hall and had given him valuable presents before he died in 1952.

Although the written records relating to the Saisiyat are in fragments and contain mainly politico-economic contradictions, we can still get some information about the intensive confrontations and instabilities along the border. Following the advancement of the borderlines, the Saisiyat settlements seemed to have gone through at least three major relocations (see Figure 4). The Saisiyat people who experienced frequent relocations and strong pressures on the frontier seemed to have developed a unique way of transformation and transmission. From the cases above, we could say that the Saisiyat tended to coexist harmoniously with the dominant powers to avoid direct collision, and they swiftly adopted new ways that were of benefit to them from the dominant groups. In a more tactful and indirect way, they built a flexible but reliable social space for regenerating their sense of belonging and their sense of 'self'.

2-3. Frontier Heritage and Perceptions of 'Others'

Living in the busy area around the frontier, the Saisiyat people created sophisticated conceptual distinctions amongst groups of people. The term '*Saisiyat*' is a generic term to encompass the entire group who are included within their symbolic framework and who are integrated into their social networks.[18] In opposition, they assigned different terms to distinguish other groups that they encountered during the historical processes. For example, the term '*saipapas*' refers to indigenous peoples who live in the inner mountains ('Atayal' in the current official indigenous classification); '*pana*' refers to indigenous peoples who live in the costal plains to their west ('Toakas' in the current classification); '*moto*' refers to the Hakka dialect-speaking Chinese; '*kamshiolang*' refers to the Hoklo dialect-speaking Chinese; '*oranta*' refers to the Dutch and other westerners; '*nippon*' refers to the Japanese; and '*babui*' refers to the mainlanders who came to Taiwan after 1945.

Awareness of 'others' or relationships with 'others' has been a basic theme in most stories and legends told by the Saisiyat people. Even in the myth of Saisiyat origins, a clear sense of coexistence with 'others' is expressed. In explaining the origin of the Saisiyat, it also defines the most influential neighbours that surround the Saisiyat. Those neighbours who are different from the Saisiyat were made by the same Creator and from the same resource (the human body) but from different portions and through different processes. The story outlines,

> In the past, there had been a serious flood. All lands were covered by water. The only person who survived hid into a wooden loom ('*hogo*'). He floated to the highest mountain near central Taiwan, where there lived a Creator named *oppoeh na boon*. *Oppoeh na boon* picked him up from the water, but killed him and cut his body into pieces. One by one, *oppoeh na boon* threw chunks of flesh into the water and gave each chunk a unique name. Thus, each chunk of flesh became a newborn person who was the ancestor of each clan of the Saisiyat. This is why the Saisiyat have clan names. Then, he threw chunks of bones into the water without giving names, which became the ancestors of '*saipapas*' (Atayal

[18] The word *sai* means 'at,' and the word *siat* is the name of a place, but, nobody nowadays can explain why it has been used to refer to the whole group of people.

indigenous group). This is why '*saipapas*' are hardy and have no clan names. At last, he threw the small pieces of viscera into the water, which became the ancestors of '*moto*' (Hakka Chinese). This is why '*moto*' have many more persons in number than the Saisiyat and '*saipapas*'.

According to the accounts of the Saisiyat, their population grew too fast on the mountain where *oppeoh na boon* lived. Therefore, the Saisiyat moved from the mountains to the coastal plains, around where the Saisiyat became a very powerful group with many settlements and great territories in northwestern Taiwan.[19] However, why did the Saisiyat become a minority group? One very popular Saisiyat legend provides a well-accepted explanation of the fighting with Zheng Chenggong (the famous Han Chinese hero who came to Taiwan in the second half of the 17th century). The story depicts that after Zheng Chenggong and his military men arrived, they fought with the Saisiyats many times. The last battle was around the Yingge Stone (in the current Taoyuan County) where thousands of Saisiyat warriors defended the cliffside. Because the Saisiyat enjoyed topographical advantages, Zheng Chenggong and his men could not successfully approach them; many of Zheng's men were killed on the way up the cliff. In the end, Zheng sent people to the only nearby waterhole where the Saisiyat got drinking water, and poisoned the water. Only a few Saisiyat survived and fled. Hence, the Saisiyat population decreased, and it became a minority group (Pan 1998:16). This explanation seems to be influenced by Chinese written materials, but it describes the conflicts on the frontier from another viewpoint and tells of the Saisiyat people's sorrow arising from the confrontations.

However, emotions toward 'others' as represented in the Saisiyat narratives are much more complicated and ambiguous. There is a mixture of various feelings such as fear, suffering, anger, admiration, envy, suspicion, and regret. To a certain extent, this emotional 'complex' mirrors the Saisiyat's experiences and reactions to the events in the frontier. As a small group which often encountered with 'others', the Saisiyat people had to face threats from 'others' who constantly invaded their lands. On the other hand, the Saisiyat had a strong desire to acquire

[19] The area was said to cover the Dakekan River (in the current Taoyuan County) in the north end, and the Daan River (in the current Taichung County) in the south.

the resources and technologies brought from the outside; thus, they were eager to adopt objects, knowledge, languages, or even human resources from others.[20] In a myth about the most well-known ceremony of the Saisiyat, *pas-taai* (the dwarf-spirits ceremony), all contrasting and paradoxical feelings are explicitly expressed. This ritual mainly devotes to worship the spirits of a legendary neighbouring group *taai.* Although there are many different versions of the myth of *taai*, the central theme in all stories is the same. Key elements and structures represent the complicated and enduring relationships between the Saisiyat people and 'others'.

In the stories, the *taai* was described as a group of little people whose members were just about three feet high, and lived in a cave on the slope along the right bank of a substream of the Shang-ping River near Mt. Wuzhi. Though the *taai* were very short, they had muscular strength and magical powers. They were also very good at planting and harvesting dry rice, weaving, singing, and dancing. Therefore, the *taai* brought great benefits to the Saisiyat; the Saisiyat kept inviting the *Taai* to their village to harvest dry rice and to sing and dance in the Harvest Ceremony. However, the *taai* were dangerous because they attacked Saisiyat men and raped Saisiyat women. Therefore, the Saisiyat respected and admired the *taai* but were also resentful of them. A version of the story elaborates the threat posed by the *taai* to the survival of the Saisiyat, which describes,

> Every year, the Saisiyat people invited the *taai* men and women to help in the harvest and to attend the Harvest Ceremony. The cave where the *taai* lived was on the opposite side of the river from the Saisiyat settlements. Since the river was very difficult to cross because of its deep water and high banks, every time the Saisiyat wanted to invite the *taai*, they shot an arrow into the cave as a signal. One year, the Saisiyat sent a messenger to invite the *taai*, he shot an arrow as a signal as before. However, several male *taai* went across the river, attacked the Saisiyat messenger and strangled him to death. Fortunately, a *taai* elder pitied the Saisiyat and saved his life by tying a kind of awn grass ('*oeso*' in Saisiyat) all over his body, making spells, and praying. Thus, the Saisiyat messenger was revived. Thereafter, the Saisiyat became more scared of the *taai.*

---

[20] The Saisiyat have practiced intermarriages with other ethnic groups for a long time. In the old days, there were many cases of Saisiyat men marrying Atayal women, but extremely few Saisiyat women married Atayal men. If Saisiyat women married out, they usually married Hakka Chinese men. In addition to intermarriages, the Saisiyat also have a custom of adopting children, either from their own group or from other groups.

> They chose fast running men as messengers. But, more seriously, the *taai* men often raped Saisiyat women when they came to sing and dance with the Saisiyat in the ceremony. Because the *taai* were capable of invisible magic, the Saisiyat could not catch them when they harassed and raped Saisiyat women. Only when the *taai* had left and the Saisiyat women got pregnant, did they discover that the women had been raped.

This story further expresses that though the Saisiyat people's lives were threatened, and the Saisiyat were furious of these powerful neighbours, they could not do anything because the *taai* were too strong and too good at magic. Therefore, the Saisiyat repressed their fury, until one day the anger finally burst out.

> One year, when the ceremony was due, all the *taai* men and women came to the *Rrawajan* (a site close to the current Daai village at the Wufeng Township) to dance and sing as was usually the case. By chance, one Saisiyat man saw his wife being raped by a male *taai*. He was very angry and wanted to kill all the *taai* in order to end their troubles forever. Finally, he thought of an idea. He took two or three strong young men with him. They arrived at the riverbank of *Ailhoha'* and waited for the *taai*. There was a huge wild loquat tree by the riverside, which had a trunk slanted towards the stream whose branches extended to the middle of the cliff. Every time after the *taai* visited the Saisiyat, they would climb onto this tree and rest there. The young Saisiyat men knew this. Therefore, they cut the inner side of the root but left the outside so that the *taai* would not notice it. After the ceremony was over, all the *taai* returned. It was a hot day and the *taai* climbed onto the tree to have a rest as before. At this moment, a sound was heard. A *taai* woman asked: "What is that sound? " A *taai* man replied: "It should be the sound of your knees, my sister-in-law." Not longer than he was saying those words that the root suddenly split. All the *taai* fell into the deep river and died.

However, the Saisiyat did not finish their relations with the *taai* after they killed the *taai*. The Saisiyat faced serious disasters by losing the *taai*. The following story expresses the Saisiyat's sufferings, regrets, and efforts to keep ritual connections with the *taai*. It describes:

> Two elderly *taai* who were sitting on the root of the tree luckily escaped the tragedy. They went to ask the Saisiyat: "Who created this wicked plan?" The Saisiyat replied: "We don't know. But, it is because some of your people often harassed us that caused the tragedy." The two *taai* elders were angry and decided to leave the Saisiyat lands. Before they left, they said to the Saisiyat: "After we leave, rats and sparrows will eat crops in your lands, and your people will be killed when you go headhunting on the plains. If you want to avoid the disaster,

you must learn the songs and sing them in the ritual to worship us." Then, the *taai* started to sing the songs. But the songs were too difficult to learn. Most of the people did not learn well. Only one man in the *Titijun* clan learned to sing the songs. This is why until today, the male members of the *Titijun* clan host the *pas-taai* ritual and lead the ritual songs.

The *taai* story, in a sophisticated and dramatic manner, represents how the Saisiyat conceptualise 'others'. It clearly expresses a theme of betrayal and trickery between the Saisiyat and the dominant others. The 'others' bring fertility and prosperity to the Saisiyat; but they also pose threats to the survival of the Saisiyat. Thus, it can be said that the feelings of the Saisiyat toward 'others' are extremely complicated and dilemmatic. Mixed emotions of fear, anger, admiration, suspicion, and anxiety are not only displayed in the myth of *taai* but are also expressed repeatedly in other Saisiyat myths and legends. For example, in the myth about the *a'uwal* ('worship of heaven'), another major Saisiyat communal ceremony which is devoted to worshiping the spirit of the Lady Thunder and Lightning (*koko waen*), a similar storyline can be found. The myth describes how Lady Thunder and Lightning came down from heaven and married a Saisiyat man. She had a special ability to plant millet by using her magic gourd and metal knifes. Thus, she did all the farming work for her family and village. Other Saisiyat also learned the skill of growing millet from *waen*. Unfortunately, she was not able to touch cooking pots which meant she could not cook for the family. One day, her father-in-law became hungry, and was very unhappy that *waen* could not cook, so he forced her to cook. When she touched the cooking pot, a huge sound was heard from the kitchen, and the house burned down. Afterwards, *waen* disappeared, and on the spot where she used to be, there stood a banana tree.

In another legend which describes the mythical Lady Weaver *katetel*, a similar central theme can be observed. In the story, a girl named *katetel* who came from underwater was married to a Saisiyat man. *Katetel*, like other people who lived under the water, had excellent weaving skills. She did not only weave beautiful textiles for her family, but she also gave lessons and taught the other Saisiyat women to weave. One day, in a weaving competition, some of her students were jealous that the other students wove better than they. They suspected that *Katetel* secretly taught some women more skills, so they said bad

words about *Katetel* behind her back. *Katetel* was very angry when she found this out. She left the Saisiyat and went back to live in her underwater home forever. Again, this story presents the theme of betrayal and loss. It is usually recited by the Saisiyat to remind people not to be jealous and suspicious of their neighbours; and it is also used to explain why the Saisiyat weaving technology was gradually declined and vanished.

In the stories mentioned above, similar features can be observed. On the one hand, all the stories depict the superiority of the outsiders, either in terms of magical power, technology or population; as well as describe the benefits or advantages that outsiders bring to the Saisiyat. On the other hand, they also stress death and jealousy caused by outsiders who live among the Saisiyat. In the end, all the outsiders in the story left because of a wrongdoing by the Saisiyat who always end up regretting their actions and suffering its consequences. These Saisiyat stories, as part of the heritage from frontier experiences, have been told over and over again from one generation to the next. The themes and storylines have been repeated, though the details have changed in accordance with the politico-economic background of the times. Generally speaking, these stories form an important base of the Saisiyat cosmology, which explains the origins, spirits, and symbols of many Saisiyat ritual practices. Thus, the paradoxical emotional complex is not only repeatedly emphasized in the oral transfer of myths, but also shapes the characteristic ethos of the Saisiyat people. Similar relations apply not only to mystic figures such as the *taai*, *waɛn*, and *katetel* but also to the Atayal, Han Chinese settlers, and the Japanese whom they all had actual encounters with in history.

2-4. Mediated Past and Emphasized Focus in Memory

In tracking the past, the Saisiyat seem to emphasize factors different from those in Chinese historical writings. Rather than giving specific information about past confrontations, the Saisiyat people often encapsulate their frontier experiences in the past in their thematic interactions with 'others'. Specifically, they place greater concentration on their paradoxical emotions towards 'others'. Therefore, except for the story of fighting with Cheng Chenggong, the Saisiyat seldom present real

battles, borderlines, Chinese settlers, armed guards, or camphor workers in their stories. Even though relocating is a common theme in the memory of every Saisiyat, people tell different stories with vague and ambiguous information about moving when asked. Although the last major movement was around 100 years ago when the Japanese moved the aboriginal boarder forward to cut across the contemporary Saisiyat territory, very few people talk about it in their conservations. Among the Saisiyat people, it seems that the subjects of the actual movement and direct contact are not in the sphere of public representation; they are not the focused issues in the collective memory of the past.

In 2001, through an interesting map-making project, a different emphasis on the Saisiyat people's memories and ways of the past that are objectified in the present have been expressed more clearly. It was a project commissioned by the Council of Indigenous Peoples which aimed to know the native's perspectives of 'traditional territory' and migration of the indigenous settlements. Local teams from each indigenous group were selected to recollect the memories by interviewing tribal elders and transforming the collected information into a map; geographic experts would help digitise the maps made by the local teams.[21] The Penglai settlement at the Nanzhuang township in South Saisiyat was included in the project. Members of the Association of Development of Saisiyat Affairs from the Penglai Village participated and led the project as a local team. At the end of the project, the executive secretary of the Association, *umau a basi*, presented two maps. One was a map of the traditional territory of the Penglai village where the boundary of the settlement was roughly delineated by surrounding natural landmarks such as mountains and rivers. Within the boundary, the names of scattered small hamlets were marked to stand for where localities used to be or are still inhabited by the Saisiyat such as *kalopotoehan* (meaning 'a place where a river is blocked'), *ray hio'an* ('a place with willow trees'), *anmohwan* ('a place with red-hair barbarians'), *ray tinaowbun* ('a place to eat *tinaobun*'), *mamaongan*

[21] The project was conducted from January 2001 to June 2001, which was directed by the Department of Geographical Information of the National Taiwan University. There were 30 settlements of 11 ethnic groups involved. The indigenous people decided how to present the information they volunteered into the map, while geographic experts digitalized the maps into scientific maps and 3-D models.

('a place with many ferns'), *kapahiwa'an* ('a place to make a timber'), *tamayong* ('a place with borderline guards'), say *kinbow'an* ('a place with newcomers'), etc (see Figure 5 Left).

The second map was planned to represent the migration history of the Penglai village, but it turned out to be a map of the migration history of the entire Saisiyat group. The project members were not able to draw a map of the migration of one settlement, because the Saisiyat who live in the contemporary settlement were moved from various localities through different routes in different times. Other than this, further problems occurred when the project members tried to objectify the migration routes of the Saisiyat in a modern map. Since no standardized Saisiyat migration history had been agreed collectively, different individuals, households, and clans had different stories and memories of the migration. These varying versions are too controversial and ambiguous to be objectified and represented. In the end, the project members made a mixed map by reconciling major disputes. They practiced a Saisiyat way in reaching a conclusion for public matters, which is the opinions of the most senior and able

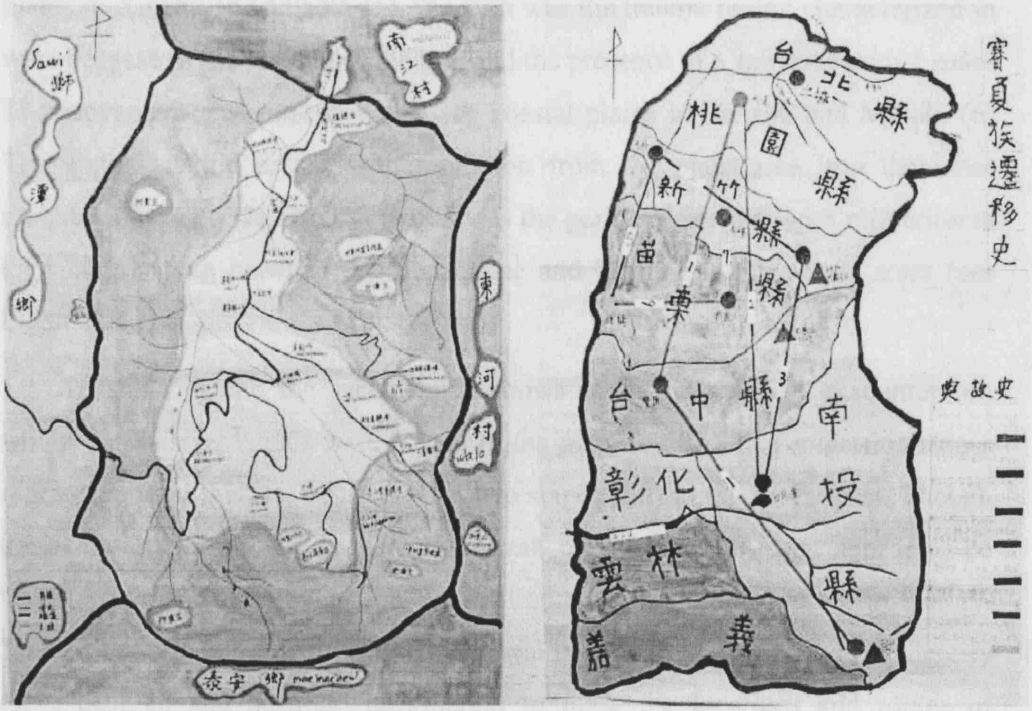


Figure 5. Two Cognitive Maps Painted by *umao a basi* in 2001. [Left: Traditional Territory of the Penglai Village. Right: Migration Route of the Saisiyat]

male elders, especially those from the clan with inherited ritual powers, were made as bases for representing the related periods of migrations.

Eventually, the pieces of information displayed on the map of the Saisiyat migration history represented a mixture of their contemporary geographical knowledge towards Taiwan and their emphasized memories of the past. On the map, the history of migration was divided into the following seven stages: (1) The first period was the period of population growth after the Creator *oppoeh na boon* created the Saisiyat. The movement was from Mt. Yu to Fengyuan, a plain area in central Taiwan, moving further to Yingge and Daxi in north Taiwan. (2) The second period was the millet agriculture and deer-hunting period related to the presence of the Lady Thunder *koko wa'en*. The movement was from Daxi in north Taiwan to Sun-moon Lake district in central Taiwan. (3) The third was the period full of food and clothes because of weaving skills imparted by the Lady Weaver *katetel*. The movement was from Sun-moon Lake to Mt. Dabajian in the northwest mountainous area of Taiwan. (4) The fourth was the period relating to the coexistence with the *taai*. The movement was from Mt. Dabajian to the coastal plains in Xinzhu and Miaoli. (5) The fifth was the trauma period characterized in wars because of the leaving of the *taai* and the presence of a spiritual animal *solou*. The movement was limited within the coastal plains in Xinzhu and Miaoli. (6) The sixth was the period with migration from the plain area into the inner mountainous area. (7) The last period was the period of sorrow, with migration to their current area between the Nanzhuang and Wufeng mountainous areas (see Figure 5 Right)

To some extent, the second map shows again the spiritual encounters on which the Saisiyat rituals were based. In the map, the first five migration stages repeat the ritual themes, while the last two stages shift to the recent past. Though these mythical pasts are deeply memorized by the Saisiyat, they appear to be "non-temporal" and "non-spatial" in relation to their time and place in history. Thus, it became a problem when the Saisiyat map project team needed to identify more detailed and accurate information to mark the localities and routes of migration on the contemporary map. For example, where is the legendary mountain the Creator *oppoeh na boon* lived in? Most of the Saisiyat people think

that it should be Mt. Dabajian near the junction of Miaoli and Taichung County, which is the highest mountain they can see from their territory. However, the project team placed it on Mt. Yu, since they took the opinion of a senior member of the *Babai* clan which hosts the ritual worshiping of the Creator *oppoeh na boon*. The elder insisted that the mountain should be Mt. Yu, because he learned that Mt. Yu is the highest mountain in Taiwan. Anyway, in the final project report, only the first map was digitized and published by the geographical scientists. The second map was not included in the publication, maybe because it contains too much fictitious and mystical data. However, in the process of interpreting migratory information as well as transforming it into modern maps, it revealed many hidden ideologies, emotions, and perceptions of the Saisiyat about the past, the changing world, and their encounters.

2-5. Entangled Saisiyat Identity, Indigenous Identity, and Taiwanese Identity

From the previous discussion, we can see that the Saisiyat people, as a marginal society on the border, have developed their ways of conceptualising external forces, changes, and past experiences. However, it would be more complicated if we try to determine in what ways and through what processes has the consciousness of the 'Saisiyat' been constructed, transformed, and transmitted. It is no doubt that Saisiyat identity has been transformed in accordance with both the changes in indigenous people's identity and Taiwanese identity in the wider contexts. Before the 20th century, the 'Saisiyat' were not classified as an independent group, and this term was not used as an official ethnic name. From historical records, we learn that the Saisiyat were usually addressed as '*sheng-fan*' (raw savages) before the 1820s. Afterwards, they were frequently addressed as Nanzhuang '*hua-fan*' (semi-subordinated savages) or '*he-fan*' (mixed savages) by the end of 19th century.[22] Although these terms were imposed by outsiders, they

[22] In the Qing policy, indigenous peoples in Taiwan were classified into the following three categories: (1)'*su-fan*' (cooked savages) were natives in the plain villages who submitted to government control; (2)'*sheng-fan*' (raw savages) were natives beyond the aboriginal border and did not submitt to the Qing government; and (3)'*hua-fan*' (semisubordinated savages) were

came to be used by the indigenous people themselves as self-reference terms. For example, in the legal paper of Ri Akwai and Si Youmei mentioned above, they also referred to themselves as '*hua-fan*'. When a so-called 'scientific' indigenous classification was first established during the Japanese colonial period,[23] the Saisiyat were still in an ambiguous situation. The classification and name for the Saisiyat people had been changed several times. It was not until after the 1910s that the Saisiyat had been gradually accepted as an identical indigenous group in an official nine-mountain-tribe classification system.[24] Since then, the nine-tribe system has been institutionalised through academic and political power. As a result of the registration of the nine-tribe system, the social boundaries of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan were fixed; accordingly, new socio-political settings for constructing and interpreting tribal identities from within were also developed.[25]

At first glance, some people might question if the 'Saisiyat' is a group invented by Japanese ethnographers. After a careful examination of writing materials, we found out that the term 'Saisiyat' was not first used by the Japanese. Before the Japanese came to Taiwan in 1895, the term 'Saisiyat' was already existent in the *Records of Investigation in Xinzhu Prefecture* which was published in 1894 and written by a local literati named Chen Chaolong. Chen said that the indigenous peoples inhabiting the area around Mt. Wuzhi and Shilixin ('*Sai-raiin*') were of the same kind and were popularly named '*he-fan*' (mixed savages). He

---

natives who stood in the middle.

[23] Ino Kanori was the first Japanese scholar who proposed a comprehensive indigenous classification and terminology system by the end of the 19th century. According to Ino, there were five major 'scientific' factors that he used to demonstrate the ethnic boundaries of aboriginal groups, namely, physical characteristics, cultural traits, civilized status, languages, and oral histories. In Ino's system, he categorized indigenous peoples into 10 sinicized groups ('plains aborigines') and eight better preserved aboriginal groups. The Saisiyat was defined as a subgroup of Taokas, one of the plain groups; Ino 1898, 1899.

[24] Nine tribes including the Saisiyat and other eight groups were classified based on the foundation of Ino's classification. However, this system was stabilized and accepted by the general public after 1936 due to the efforts of Utsushikawa, Miyamoto and Mabuchi in the Institute of Ethnology at the Taihoku University; Utsushikawa et al 1935, Mabuchi 1953.

[25] Ironically, though this classification and naming system was debatable, it was institutionalised at the political and administrative levels after World War II, since the following KMT government of the Republic of China continued to apply the same aboriginal classification. The nine-mountain-tribe system was not altered at all until 2001 when the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) became the ruling party in Taiwan. 'Sao' in the Sun-Moon Lake was announced as the tenth group in 2001; 'Kavaran' was the eleventh in 2002; and 'Taruku' was the 12th in 2003.

also stated that a group of '*he-fan*' who lived at the back of the mountain called themselves 'sai-si-la' which sounds very similar to 'Saisiyat'. Chen also recorded some vocabularies like the sun, moon, stars, body parts, and clan names used by the group, which were all matched with the current Saisiyat language but in Chinese written forms (Chen [1894] 1999: 403). Thus, the term 'sai-si-la' was first recorded by a Chinese literati before the Japanese occupation; it reveals that 'Saisiyat', as a self-reference term, was appeared much earlier and there had been some cultural foundations related to it.

However, mixture and ambiguity seemed to be the common features of the Saisiyat. Politically speaking, they were standing in a grey area between submission and resistance. They tended to avoid direct conflicts and to collaborate with the dominant powers but occasionally fought seriously against outside forces. In terms of demography, the Saisiyat are even more mixed. Almost every Saisiyat household could trace intermarriages with either Atayal or Han Chinese in the family history. Moreover, the Saisiyat liked to adopt children from Han or Atayal groups. Many famous Saisiyat headmen who appeared in the archives were adopted Chinese sons, such as Ri Akwai (*akwai* of the *Tanohila* clan), Si Dawei (*tapoeh'* of the *Taatai'si* Clan), and Zhang Youhuai (*yubai* of the *Babai* clan) mentioned above. In the case of Ri Akwai, not only was he an adopted Han son by the Saisiyat; Akwai, himself, also adopted six Chinese kids, five sons and one daughter, because his two wives (one Saisiyat, and one Atayal) did not bear children. Since most Saisiyat households have mixed ancestry, the physical appearances of the Saisiyat show a wide range of variations in height, skin complexion and facial features. In fact, the Saisiyat acknowledge their differences in physical appearance; many of them even like to joke that they had blood hybrids which were traceable from the Dutch. Other than that, the Saisiyat also give a strong impression of ambiguity in the aspect of cultural elements. They acquired new cultural elements from others very quickly, such as those relating to houses, furnishing, clothing, utensils, and many others. For example, in the earlier days, the Saisiyat used similar tattoo and weaving patterns as those of the Atayal. From the 1820s, many Saisiyat started to adopt Han Chinese surnames, houses, clothes, foods, etc. In the 1960s, many Saisiyat were converted to Christianity in order to get flour and clothes, but most of them withdrew from churches again

after the 1980s. In general, it is, indeed, difficult for others to determine the differences and to understand the distinctiveness of the Saisiyat.

Contrary to the ambiguous recognition from the outside, though, the Saisiyat developed self-consciousness. Despite frequent political intervention and migration, the high rate of intermarriage and adoption, and fast changes in the world, the Saisiyat have emphasized features to distinguish themselves from others and to generate consciousness as an identical group. This might explain why, different from other classified indigenous groups in Taiwan, the Saisiyat have developed a generic term referring to 'we-group' which is used as an official classification label now. For this reason, when many indigenous groups are eager to protest against the official classification and naming system for misrepresenting their groups, the Saisiyat accept it without any objection. However, Saisiyat identity is not a fixed concept. Saisiyat identity has been expressed differently in accordance with changing indigenous consciousness against the Taiwanese, and with the changing Taiwanese consciousness in contrast to the Chinese. It is shifting with wider socio-political contexts in Taiwan, Asia, and the world. For centuries, the indigenous people were disdained and were treated as inferior groups. In the Qing classification, they were labelled as 'savages'.[26] In the Japanese system, they were classified as 'aborigines' who were waiting to be civilized. After World War II, they were categorized as 'mountain peoples' (or 'mountain compatriots') who needed to be modernized under the KMT rule. Policies of assimilation had been a widespread propaganda from the 1950s to the 1970s. Various movements such as 'Making Mountain-lands as Plains', 'Speaking Mandarin Movement', 'New Lifestyle Movement', and 'Life Improvement for the Mountain Compatriots', were highly valued for a few decades. A Saisiyat informant in his 40s told me that when he was young, he rarely heard the term 'Saisiyat' except in a few communal rituals. They usually referred to themselves as 'mountain peoples' as the government claimed. Some people even hid their indigenous connections and identified themselves as a subgroup of a bigger 'Chinese' family.

---

[26] In the official Qing classification, Han Chinese were 'folks' and the indigenes were 'savages'.

The indigenous identity has never been an important issue in Taiwan until the late 1980s. In 1987 when martial law was lifted and the KMT government loosened its political grip, many anti-KMT activists identified themselves with the indigenous peoples as the oppressed 'Taiwanese' who should fight against 'Chinese Mainlander chauvinism'. Thus, they tried to promote 'Taiwanese consciousness' through 'indigenization' and 'localization' of the 'Taiwanese past' (Shiau 2000:162-164). A series of indigenous movements which were initiated merged with other socio-political movements in Taiwan. Under this trend, the 'Association of Promotion of Indigenous Rights' was established in 1989.[27] In response to the increasing internal pressure and worldwide proclamation of indigenous rights, the Taiwan government finally established the Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1996. In the following year, an official terminology of '*yuan-zhu-ming*', 'Indigenous Peoples', or 'Primordial Inhabitants' and a multicultural provision were added in the Constitution. It was obvious that the increasing indigenous consciousness was developed along with the urgent cry for Taiwanese identity in the political level. It was also entangled with the conflicts of 'Taiwanese identity' against 'Chinese identity' which became a serious dispute relating to the 'Independence of Taiwan' in contrast to 'Reunification with China'.[28] Nowadays, the identity problem has become a serious crisis in Taiwan. Differences and conflicts between four ethnic groups in Taiwan--Hoklo (Han Chinese), Hakka (Han Chinese), Mainlanders (Han Chinese), and indigenous peoples have been highlighted.[29] People with different backgrounds are fighting

---

[27] The major issues they proposed are the following: (1) correction of the label of 'mountain peoples' or 'mountain compatriots', (2) abolishment of the division of 'mountain land mountain peoples' and 'plain land mountain peoples', (3) modification of the aboriginal classification system, (4) restoration of traditional names, (5) regeneration of native languages and cultural traditions, (6) reclamation of ancestral lands, and (7) more radical requests for political autonomy.

[28] Most Taiwanese people are looking for a new Taiwanese identity to express their distinctiveness, after a series of distinctive socio-political experiences was shared such as Japanese colonization, the bloody 228 Incident in 1940s, the White terror period from the 1950s-70s, as well as the rapid economical and political developments in Taiwan since the 1970s.

[29] These following four major ethnic generic groups are divided based on multilevels of contrasts: (1) Hoklo (*'fulao-ren'*) is the majority group which comprises 70% of the population. Their ancestors came mainly from the Fujian province before the 20th century. They usually classify themselves as 'Taiwanese' (*'taiwan-ren'*) in the narrowest sense. (2) Hakka (*'kejia-ren'*) is the second biggest group which comprises about 15% of the population. Their ancestors came mainly from Guandong province before the 20th century. (3) Mainlanders (*'waisheng-ren'*) comprise the third group which makes up less than 13% of the population. They are the people who came to Taiwan with the KM Party after 1945, including their descendants. (4) Indigenous peoples

over 'who are Taiwanese', 'what is the essence of being Taiwanese', and 'where is the sense of belongingness for the Taiwanese'.

It is no doubt that indigenisation or indigenous connection has become the short route for becoming Taiwanese. Under this process, Saisiyat identity and the indigenous identity have never ever been so strongly, openly, and proudly claimed. Inevitably, the concepts of being 'indigenes' and being 'Saisiyat ' have changed through the discourses from within and without. Being unprivileged minorities, the Saisiyat and other indigenous peoples in Taiwan are all facing many serious problems in the social, cultural, political, and economic aspects. They are gradually losing their ancestral lands, native languages, and cultural traditions; suffering from high rates of unemployment and alcoholism; and being discriminated against in urbanized workplaces. However, like many other indigenous groups, the Saisiyat are making efforts to empower themselves and legitimise their existence by getting in touch with and holding on to their 'past' (cf. Said 1994; Sahlins 1999; Harrison 1992, 1999).

In this chapter, I have shown that the Saisiyat, as an ethnic minority and a marginal society in the frontier, have perceived their distinctive consciousness through dialogues with external sources and internal agencies. The distinctiveness of the 'self' has been identified through constantly sensing 'others'. More importantly, this distinctiveness is perceived collectively in a changing world through links to the past. By holding on to and reproducing distinctive past resources, the Saisiyat have resisted assimilation and have resisted becoming Han Chinese or Atayal, even though they have been subjected to strong politico-economic pressures and have adopted abundant human resources or cultural elements from the outside.

In other words, the past of the Saisiyat is derived from mediated and negotiated memories that reflected lived experiences on the frontier. Through remembering and reenacting an emphasized symbolic past, the Saisiyat create and recreate a sense of continuity. In the following chapters, I will explore the

---

comprise the smallest ethnic group which makes up less than 2% of the population. Their ancestors lived in Taiwan before the 17th century. They all speak Austronesian languages.

significance of ancestral essence and substance in creating continuity in the Saisiyat through dynamic transformations. It is the relatedness and connectedness in materiality that could help to transcend the surface boundaries and formal constraints (cf. Munn 1970; Gell 1998; Tilly 1999). For example, the stickiness and sweetness of honeycomb wax and sticky-rice, the dryness and bitterness of millet, the height and moving characters of dancing flags, or the red and white colour in clothes, these features comprise strong linkages for 'creative continuity' among the Saisiyat. Thus, I would argue, it is based on creative relatedness that the Saisiyat could overcome the discontinuity, diversity, and hybridity to generate a sense of continuity and identity in the life world.

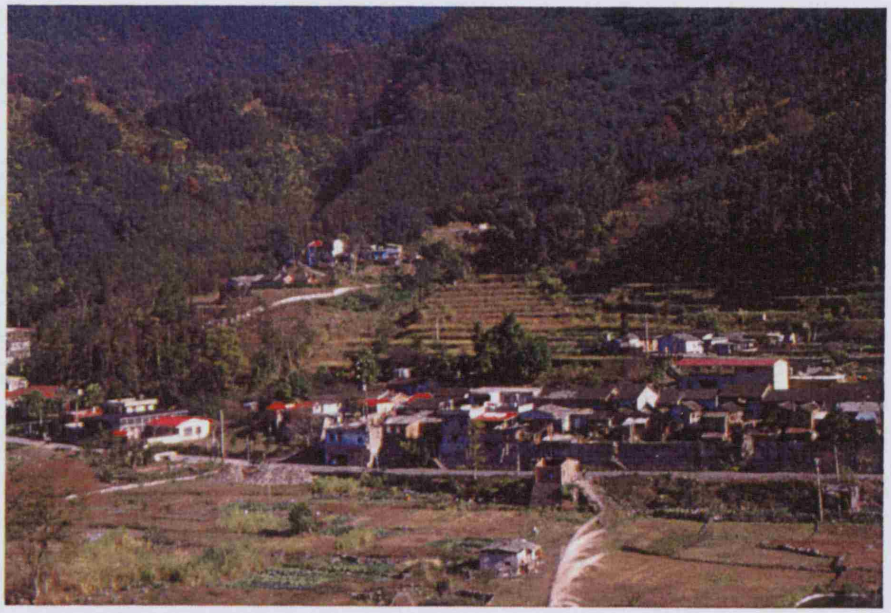


Photo 2-1. The settlement of *Waro* in Donghe Village, Nanzhuang Township, Miaoli County (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 1996, Donghe)

Photo 2-2. The electrified fence along the '*Aiyu*' line in the 1910s (Bureau of Commission General 1912)

Photo 3-1. A family from the *Babai* clan on a trip to the Xueba National Park in 2001 (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2001, Guan-wu)

Photo 3-2. A family from the *Hayawan* clan with Japanese anthropologists at the Xiaoping Police Station in the 1930s (Photo Collection # A154, Department of Anthropology, National Taiwan University)

Chapter 3
People's Names As Social Classification and Transmitted Ancestral Essence

It was a cold and rainy winter afternoon when I first arrived at Donghe village in 1995. I was brought to the house of *umau a boon*, a man from the *Babai* clan. *Umau* was the owner of a small eatery in the village. His house was situated against a riverbank along the stretch of a winding mountain road. When I entered their small cement house, I was warmly invited by a group of more than 20 people, both men and women, adults and children, who were gathered around a table, eating, drinking, chatting, and singing. In our conversations, subjects quickly turned to their naming system when they enthusiastically tried to show me some special Saisiyat features. They gave detailed examples of their own names, and to express their hospitality, they decided to give me a Saisiyat name. *Watan a obai*, uncle of *umau a boon*, who was the oldest man in the room, chose a name for me. Without further thinking, he pronounced that I should be named '*tiwas*', the name of a legendary woman with magical powers, also the name of one of his grandaunts and of his second granddaughter. He explained that Saisiyat personal names are able to transmit ancestral powers to the posterior name receivers. Thus, he believed that I should have a good life by carrying this powerful name. Since then, I had used this name while I was with the Saisiyat. In tracing who gave me this name, some Saisiyat considered me as part of the *Babai* clan. In fact, I was not the only outsider who had been given a Saisiyat name in the first contact with the Saisiyat. Many people who came to live with the Saisiyat or become friends with the Saisiyat may receive a Saisiyat name from an elder in the host family. The act of giving Saisiyat names to newcomers not only strengthens the relationships between the Saisiyat and others; it also reflects the tendency of the Saisiyat to categorize strangers into their familiar naming systems.

As Fox (1987) and Bloch (1996) have argued, many Austronesians do not determine a person's social identity by birth; instead, they define a social person in a process of growing through lives. In other words, a person is made through a

continual path of becoming. This process results from a continual negotiation through contacts with the coexisting world accords with a view of one's place in history. In these societies, people's view of the past is also coherent with their understanding of the nature of reproduction, of birth, and of their mind and body (Fox 1987: 174; Bloch 1996: 225). Based on their assumptions, I tend to argue that the past and continuity with the past is also intertwined with their conceptualisation of the formation of a social person in the concepts of Saisiyat. Thus, this chapter attempts to examine how the Saisiyat continually making a social self by inheriting people's names. Also, it attempts to analyse how ancestral substances and life forces are symbolically transfered into the human body by inheriting people's names.

The body (*bathan*), as a biological base for mobile and transient human beings, is metaphorically and metonymically receiving and accumulating important ancestral essences for generating and transforming a person to become a Saisiyat. Saying this, I would suggest that each name is associated with a living person who is an entity combined with an identical soul and body. Thus, people's name is not just an abstract marker, but it also encompasses solid substance in the named body. Since names are mainly composed of sound codes, these names tend to be repeated when calling and addressing people during daily conversations. In this way, these names are used as sign-devices to stimulate sensational memories of the past, to bring about self-transformation, and to help organize social relations. For these reasons, I would argue that people's names serve not only as fundamental social categories to classify and identify social members, but also as significant mnemonic devices to remind people of their ancestry.

In the following sections of this chapter, I will first present special features of the Saisiyat naming system, the meaning and transformation of names, as well as the substances transmitted in such naming practices. Moreover, I would focus on examining how the Saisiyat circulate their names within the hereditary line, as well as through marriage exchange and adoption , and exploring how the critical ancestral essences could transcend boundaries of individual bodies and formulate a concrete base to reproduce the Saisiyat society.

3-1. Primordial Relations in People's Names

The importance of the native naming system has long been recognized by anthropologists. Names and naming patterns could reflect basic concepts concerning social classification and identification. For the Saisiyat, naming is more than identifying and classifying a person. The act of inheriting names is one of the most prestigious and distinctive cultural heritages. Many of them like to talk about myths behind Saisiyat names, the principle of name giving, or the distinctive meanings of names. Since their names are mainly inherited from ancestors, these serve as unbreakable links to their past. Evidently, ancestral names are continuously remembered and handed down from one generation to another even in the modern world.

In general, every Saisiyat inherits two types of ancestral names. One of them is the clan name, known as '*sinayhou*'. A *sinayhou* is a collective name shared by those who believe that they are descendents of a common patrilineal ancestor. It is usually granted at birth and automatically places an individual into a fundamental social category. The other name is the personal or given name, which is known as '*raro:*'. It is a name usually inherited from a grand-relative on the father's side and given to a person after a series of naming processes. Both names are basically transmitted from one generation to the next within the same patrilineal line. Among them, *sinayhou* names constitute the most unique labels to classify and identify the Saisiyat. They are regarded as pivotal markers to delineate Saisiyat social groups. Moreover, they are also the most popular symbols to distinguish the Saisiyat from other indigenous groups in Taiwan.

The *sinayhou* names reflect the special pattern of how Saisiyat people are grouped and related. Generally speaking, the network of Saisiyat society is laid on the foundation of patrilineal clans. The whole Saisiyat population is divided into several exogamous patriclans. It should be noted that this partriclan exogamous arrangement is different from its neighbouring indigenous group called Atayal who exhibit a more bilineal and territorial form in organizing social members; but it is more similar to the social arrangements in the Bunun, Tsou, and Sao indigenous groups who inhabit central Taiwan. In this patrilineal and patrilocal society, a Saisiyat woman normally leaves her father's house and resides in her

husband's house after marriage. Children are generally brought up in the father's house, and they inherit names, properties, land rights, or ceremonial privileges from their father's side. As I mentioned above, all the Saisiyat share a mutual belief that members of the same clan are descendents of a common patrilineal ancestor. They strongly identify themselves as having a common blood origin; thus, they cannot marry people with the same clan names.

Normally, clanship is automatically ascribed from the father's side either through birth or adoption; only in very few cases may children have clanship from the mother's clan, if his /her father was a married-in father. Though the man constitutes the major hereditary line and the woman becomes an affiliated member of her husband's clan after marriage, the woman always holds inseparable connections with her natal patriclan ancestors. She does not only keep her clan name after marriage, but she also acquires life essence for her children, periodically from her clan ancestors through those emphasized female life-cycle rituals in the Saisiyat.[1]

For the Saisiyat people, the distinctiveness of each patriclan (*aehae sinayhou*) is easily recognizable and memorable because of its clan name (*sinayhou*). The clan naming system is cosmologically authenticated by the creation myth. The legendary stories intensify the originating powers of these names. According to the myth, *sinayhou* names were given to the Saisiyat by *oppoeh na boon* (the Creator) when he created the Saisiyat and other cultural groups from a dead body. The Saisiyat were enlivened through applying an identical *sinayhou* name to each divided chunk of flesh. In this way, the Saisiyat's clan naming system can be considered unique compared to other indigenous groups in Taiwan. Though a few other groups also have a clan naming system; such as the Zhou, Bunun, and Sao groups who live in central Taiwan, they are less influential in terms of power to

[1] The earlier anthropological works on Austronesian societies in the Pacific area suggests that most of kinship terminology in Taiwan's indigenous groups tend to be the Hawaiian type, which is overwhelming predominance of the generational principle of classification. And, as to the kinship relations and kinship rituals, two types could be identified: the Oceanian type, in which the relation between brother and sister is the focal point; and Indonesian type, in which the relation bertween the maternal kin group and the children of the married-out woman are the priority. Murdock 1949:350; Mabuchi 1974: 40&47.

maintain social grouping, potency to link with primordial origins, and consistency in dealing with transformations.[2] Thus, the Saisiyat people like to distinguish themselves from other indigenous groups by saying that the Saisiyat are 'the people with clan names'. Indeed, it is evident that Saisiyat *sinayhou* names constitute an efficient system for social classification, identification and integration, which in turn shape social orders, values, ethics, and actions. The sound codes and lexical meanings of clan names have been well remembered and practiced over ages, which become basic signs to remind them of their ancestors.

Additionally, there are special features associated with the concept of Saisiyat *sinayhou*. First, the term *sinayhou* is often used in addressing various levels of social groups in Saisiyat. For example, each Saisiyat patriclan, which is considered as an identical social unit, is called '*aha sinayhou*' (literally meaning 'one clan name'). In this sense, s*inayhou* are not only names, but are also terms to refer to a group of social persons. Thus, in occasions of public speeches or ritual talks, the Saisiyat elders or leaders would usually start with addressing all participants in the public by using a generic term '*sin-sinayhou*' (literally meaning 'many many different clan names'). Nowadays, when the Saisiyat translate a new term 'ethnic group' in modern textbooks, they also use the term *sinayhou*. In the above cases, it shows that the concept of *sinayhou* is fluidly used to represent the human group, especially the Saisiyat group.

Second and more significantly, most *sinayhou* names have obvious lexical meanings which could be easily understood and memorized. These *sinayhou* names are more or less related to natural phenomena of different categories. The meanings of these *sinayhou* names include (1) celestial phenomena, such as wind and sun; (2) animal species, such as fox and cicada; (3) plant species or parts, such as seed, peanuts, camphor, colour of aubergine, entwined branches, and roots; and (4) bodily expression or components, such as tall, blood, membrane, etc.

---

[2] Zhou, Bunun, and Sao, these three indigenous groups which inhabit the central highlands of Taiwan are also characterized by strict patrilineal descent.

In the following figure, I shall elaborate on these by giving examples of 14 current clan names and 3 already extinct clan names. It shows that lexical meanings of most Saisiyat *sinayhou* names refer to distinctive things with natural entities. Based on the meanings of clan names, the Saisiyat could differentiate and categorize their people into several social groups. The differentiated patriclans serve as the most critical groups for operating all kinds of social activities. In a practical level, people with the same clan name and who live in the same settlement usually form a basic labour and resource sharing group. For example, in the past, they worked cooperatively to do field clearing, house building, large-scale hunting, or headhunting together. Nowadays, they still frequently share food and pastime, take care of house and kids, clear gardens and fields, or borrow money for and from each other. Other than their daily activities, each patriclan also forms a clear boundary of exogamy.

Figure 6. Literal Meanings of the Saisiyat *sinayhou* Names [3]

***Sinayhou* Names**	**Literal Meaning in Saisiyat**
Babai	"*bai*" means 'wind'
Tiitijun	"*titibun*" means 'seeds of a plant'
Kaibaibau	"*ibaibao*" means 'tall'
Sawan	'entwined branches'
Kasamus	"'*amus*" means 'root'
MinrakeS	"*rakesh*" means 'camphor tree'
Tawtauwazai	"*tautau*" means 'peanuts'
Tanohila	"*hahera*" means 'sun'
Bubutol	"*budol*" means 'mountain cat'
Hayawan	--meaning unknown
Kakarang	"*karan*" means 'scaled and shelled animal'
Saina'ase	"*ase*" means 'a special herbal tree'
Tatai'si	'color of aubergine'
Kamrarai	"*rarai*" means 'cicada'
Saitaburax	'people live in "tabura"
Katiramox	"*ramo*" means 'blood'
Tabtabirasx	"*biras*" means 'membrane'

(Reference: Ritual Committee of the Northern Saisiyat 1988:1; Cheng 1987; Kojima 1917;)

[3] Clan names in the last three grey rows were found in the records of the early 20th century, but they are extinguished nowadsys. See Kojima 1917.

Saisiyat marriage is seriously restricted among members of the same clan. Marrying people with the same *sinayhou* name equates to breaking an incest taboo. In many Saisiyat stories, similar themes concerning the disasters caused by incest among clan members have been repeated again and again. These stories tell about those clans which broke the ancestral law and married someone with the same *sinayhou* name had finally received vital punishment from their ancestors; and many of such clans eventually vanished. For these reasons, those already extinct clans and the current small clan, such as the *Saitabura* or the *Saina'ase*, are popular examples of the consequence of clan incest believed by the Saisiyat.

Moreover, *sinayhou* names also constitute a basic category for division of ritual labours. Hereditary ritual powers are usually confined to specific *sinayhou* groups. Men with certain *sinayhou* names are authorized to inherit specific ritual resources and rights. Besides, each *aehae sinayhou* ('patriclan') is an acting group for preparing ritual tasks, processing ritual materials and transmitting ritual knowledge.

Because of the distinctive features of the Saisiyat *sinayhou* system, a few Taiwanese ethnographers in the 1950s and 60s, such as Huei-lin Wei (1956) and Chun-ching Chen (1968), have argued that such practice was a faded trace of an archaic totemic system. According to the lexical meanings of clan names which are associated with natural entities, the practice of clan exogamies, and the ritual divisions, Wei and Chen have suggested that the Saisiyat could have been the only totemic society in Taiwan before they were influenced by outsiders. Their conclusion might be an extreme way of interpreting the Saisiyat *sinayhou* naming system, since we have no further evidence to trace back its origin. But, in a sense, they have noticed that the Saisiyat *sinayhou* naming system has played a significant role in social categorizing and grouping. They are effective mechanisms for people to recognize and memorize the socially created distance and boundaries between different groups of people. In his discussion of the totemic system, Levi-Strauss (1969, 1973) first pointed out that the use of natural emblems by social groups is a way of representing nature/culture dichotomy. Based on this principle, the 'naturally' distinct categories, such as sun, wind, plant, and animal species, are effectively used to contrast the different social groups

(Levi-Strauss 1973, Harrison 1990). Examining the Saisiyat *sinayhou* system from this perspective, we could find that it indeed creates a homology between naming 'natural series of things' and naming 'cultural series of social groups'. The classificatory boundaries of clan groups are delineated by *sinayhou* names, since these names are perceptually distinctive given the different natural entities in their literal meanings.

However, unlike other totemic systems, to the Saisiyat, natural entities embedded in *sinayhou* names are not related to the metamorphosed forms of ancestors. The Saisiyat people have never identified themselves as descendents of the natural things related to their clan names. There are neither icons nor pictorial designs that had been used to depict the specific images associated with the natural entities indicating their clan names. In this sense, although the lexical meanings of *sinayhou* names contrast and objectify the differences of clan groups, those natural things referred to by clan names are not associated with the clan members. For example, members of the *Kaibaibaw* do not think of themselves as 'tall' people; members of the *MinrakeS* or *Tautauwazai* do not associate their features with that of a 'camphor tree' or 'peanuts'; members of the *Baabai* or *Tanohila* do not recognize themselves as having the physical characteristics of 'wind' or 'sun'.

Thus, the Saisiyat *sinayhou* system simply provides a framework for recognizing social classification and memorizing social division among clans, rather than objectifying images of clan ancestors. The *sinayhou* names are powerful instruments to clarify boundaries between clans through different natural features; the naturalized differences among clans are further used to consolidate distinctive awareness of each clan. Extendedly, *sinayhou* names have become the most fundamental bases in developing social relations. Through practicing clan exogamy and ritual division, all classified Saisiyat patriclans that are labelled and differentiated by *sinayhou* names are interacted and interrelated to construct a collective Saisiyat consciousness.

Nowadays, the whole society of Saisiyat is usually divided into 14 distinct patriclans. However, depending on the context of classification, sometimes the

Saisiyat intentionally classify themselves into 13 clans or 15 clans.[4] Many particlans are composed of several smaller territorial sub-groups according to their population sizes and locations. The size of these patriclans varies to great extents, which range from two households to about 100 households. The larger clans, such as *Tiitijun*, *Tawtauwazai* and *Baabai*, have more than 100 households; more than 700 members compose each clan. The smaller clans, such as *Saina'ase and Kamrarai* and *Bubutol*, consist of less than six households and less than 30 members are in each clan. The chart below provides an estimate of the households in each clan.

Figure 7. Estimated Households in Each Saisiyat Patriclan (*'aehae sinayhou'*)

	The Saisiat Patriclans	Households
1.	*Tiitijun*	119
2.	*Tawtauwazai*	118
3.	*Babai*	116
4.	*Sawan*	71
5.	*Kas'amus*	25
6.	*Kaibaibau*	78
7.	*Tanohila*	37
8.	*MinrakeS*	35
9.	*Hayawan*	23
10.	*Tatai'si*	18
11.	*Kakarang*	7
12.	*Saina'ase*	6
13.	*Kamrarai*	2
14.	*Bubutol*	1

(Reference: Pas-taai Ritual Committee of the Northern Saisiyat 1988, Lim 2000:249 & author's field note in 2001)

Although a great variation of human resources and powers is indicated by different sizes of clans, it shows a high degree of autonomy and equality among these Saisiyat clans. Relationships between clans tend to be competitive but

[4] They are classified into 13 clans when members of *Sawan* and *Kas'amus* claim that they belonged to the same clan before. Since on the way of migration 200 years ago, a group of *Sawan* who decided to stay in the middle of the trip had been called *Kas'amus* (means 'growing roots' on the spot). When these two groups want to remind younger generations that they could not marry each other, they will use the name *Sawan* to represent themselves. Nowadays, many Saisiyat also claim they have 15 clans, because in the translated Chinese surnames, *Sawan* has been further divided into two names – 'qian' (錢) and 'pan' (潘) in Chinese.

cooperative, since different clans inherit and hold distinct ritual resources. Thus, before the practice of communal rituals, a senior representative or spokesman from each clan have to assemble to reconcile conflicts and negotiate problems.[5]

Though members of each patriclan inhabit different settlements, people with the same *sinayhou* names show a preference of distribution to cluster in the adjacent area. For example, over 87% *Tautauwazai* households and about 60% *Tiiti'un* households live in the Daai village; more than 80% *Baabai* live in the Donghe village, 90% *Tanohila* families stay in the Penglai village, and 85% *Tatai'si* are in the Nanjiang village. The tendency of assembled cohabitation with people of the same *sinayhou* names could be traced back to the Qing period. In a map made by a Japanese land investigator 80 years ago, it shows that the left bank

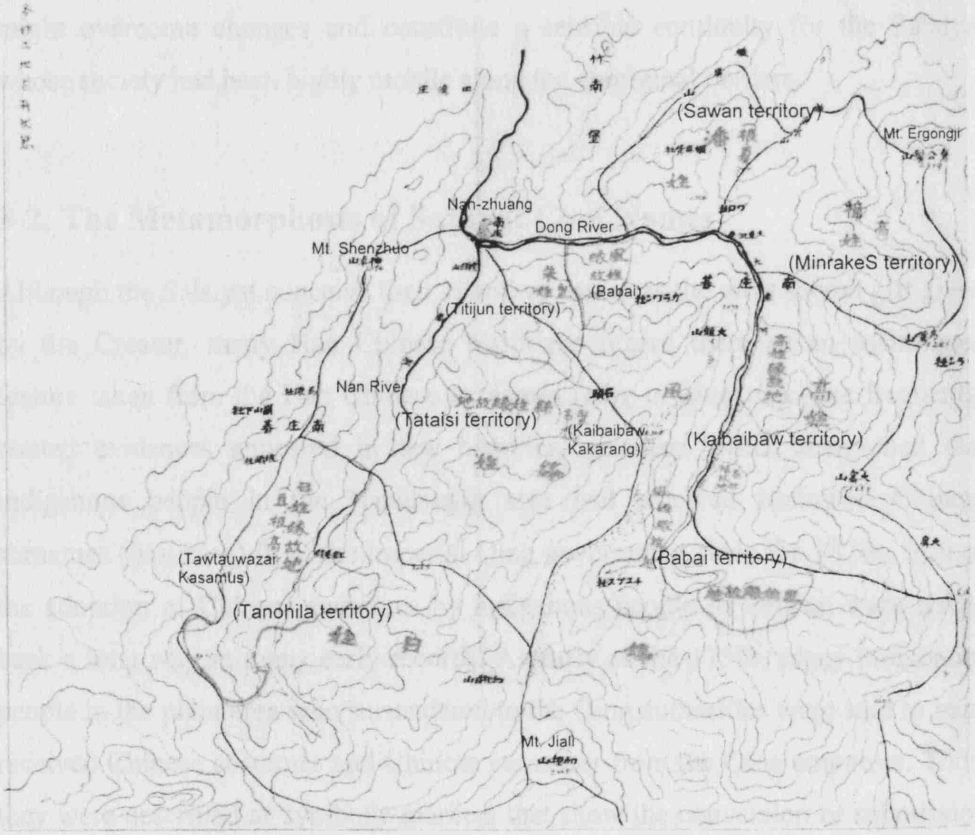


Figure 8. The Territorial Distribution of Saisiyat *Sinayhou* Groups Before 1930s

[5] Over a long conversational process called *haehae'ong*, all the past conflicts, arguments, and fighting between clans will be raised.

of the Dong (East) River Valley (in the current Donghe village) was the *Bavai* territory, the right back of the Dong (East) River Valley was the *Kaibaibaw* a territory, the area around Mt. Jiali was the *Tanohila* territory, and so on (Yamanouchi 1930: 36-37, see Map 3-1).

Here, the territorial distribution pattern of *sinayhou* groups exhibits two interesting tendencies. Firstly, members of the same *sinayhou* names used to inhabit in clusters on divided territories where they claimed they had inherited rights of land usage. Secondly, those with the same *sinayhou* names do not just depict kinship, but they also project territorial associations. These phenomena seem to indicate a more fluid path of transformation and transmission between the kinship ties and territorial ties. The stable sound codes and referred natural entities of *sinayhou* names no doubt are distinctive markers and powerful devices which might overcome changes and constitute a sensible continuity for the Saisiyat whose society had been highly mobile along the aboriginal borders.

3-2. The Metamorphosis of Saisiyat Clan Names

Although the Saisiyat conceive their *sinayhou* names as the most sacred gift given by the Creator, many Han Chinese historians regard them as an assimilated feature taken from the Han Chinese surnames (*xing* or *xing-shi*). The frequently recited evidences appeared in few historical gazettes, which mentioned that indigenous people in the Nanzhuang area had received bestowed Chinese surnames (*han-xing*) from the imperial Qing government since the 1820s. In fact, the adoption of Chinese surnames by indigenous people in Taiwan were traced back a long way in many early records. As early as the 1750s, many indigenous people in the plain area who surrendered to the Qing authorities were said to have received Chinese costumes and Chinese surnames from the Qing emperors. Thus, they were described as symbolic markers that show the conversion or submission of the indigenous people. In addition to the concept of bestowing, there was an official policy under the Qing rule to make converted indigenous people adopt

Han Chinese names for the purpose of assimilation. In the early 19th century, most indigenous tribes in the western plain had submitted and adopted Chinese names.[6] The impact of using Chinese names apparently threatened the survival of many indigenous communities because the surname system was not compatible with their original kinship system and social classifications, especially for matrilineal and bilineal societies.

But, different from other indigenous groups, the Saisiyat presents a unique way of applying Chinese surnames. The adopted Chinese surnames in the Saisiyat society did not threaten their social structures and orders. The reasons of why the Saisiyat could achieve the positive effect are related to some influential factors. One factor is that the Saisiyat society, like the Chinese, is a strict patrilineal society, which has developed a collective naming system to categorize people and maintain a link with their ancestors.

Another more significant factor is related to the special natural features expressed in Saisiyat *sinayhou* names. The meaning of *sinayhou* names have been systematically translated and transformed into Chinese surnames since the early 19th century. The transformation gradually occurred in the period when the guard posts were built along the nearby aboriginal border and the Saisiyat started to work as settlers' guards. The payroll of border guards in the 19th century, reveal that the *sinayhou* names of those Saisiyat who collected monthly payment from the settlers' cultivation company had been translated into Chinese names. In the process of transformation, most *sinayhou* names had kept their lexical meanings but were altered to use Chinese characters; only a very few *sinayhou* names without clear lexical meanings seemed to be transformed to Chinese characters based on the resembled sounds of the first syllable in *sinayhou* names. Thus, the transformed Saisiyat clan names looked and sounded like Chinese surnames, but their hidden meanings, classificatory functions, and defined social relations have remained.

---

[6] It can also be shown in historical records that "hall names" (*tang-hao*) were adopted by some indigenous people in the Saisiyat area not later than the 1880s.

Figure 9. Chinese Surnames Used by Saisiyat *Sinayhou* Groups

Saisiyat '*sinayhou*'	Chinese Surnames	Relations of Literal Meaning and Sound
Babai	風、楓、酆 Feng 東 Dong	風(*feng*) which means 'wind' as *babai* was the first chosen character; and some other characters with the same sound such as 東(*dong*) have been developed later to express residential or religious distinctions within the clan
Tiitijun	朱 Zhu	珠(*zhu*) which means 'beads' was first chosen to translate *titibun* ('seeds'); but, it further transformed to another character, which is 朱(*zhu*), since it is a more common Chinese surname
Kaibaibaw	高 Gao	高(*gao*) means 'tall' or *kaibaibaw*
Sawan	潘 Pan、錢 Qian	潘(*pan*) is a popular Chinese surname for plain indigenes, while 錢(*qian*) means 'money'; both of these are different in meaning and in sound from the name *sawan* ('entwined branches')
Kas'amus	根 Gen	根(*gen*) means 'root' or *kas'amus*
Minrakes	樟、章 Zhang	樟 (*zhang*) means 'camphor tree' or *minrakes* ; some members also used 章(*zhang*) which is a more common Chinese surname
Tawtauwazai	豆 Do、趙 Zhao	豆(*do*) which means 'beans' was first chosen to translate *tawtauwazai* ('peanuts'); some members also used 趙(zhao) since it is a more common Chinese surname
Tanohila	日 *Ri*	日(*ri*) means 'sun' or *tanohila*
Bubutol	胡 *Hu*	狐(*hu*) which means 'fox' was first chosen to translate *bubutol* ('mountain cat'); it further transformed to 胡(*hu*) which is a more common Chinese surname
Hayawan	夏 Xia	夏(xia) means'summer'; both its meaning and sound are different from *hayawan* whose meaning is unknown
Kakarang	解 Xie	蟹(*xie*) which means 'crab' was first chosen to translate *kakarang* ('shelled fish'); it further transformed to 解(*xie*) which is a more common Chinese surname
Saina'asɐ	芎 Qiong	芎(*qiong*) means 'berbal tree' or *saina'asɐ*
Tatai'si	絲 *Si*	絲(*si*) which means 'silk' is taken from the last syllable of *tatai'si*
Kamrarai	詹 Zhan	蟬 (*chan*) which means 'cicada' or *kamrarai* further transformed to 詹(zhan) which is a more common Chinese surname

(Reference: Ritual Committee of the Northern Saisiyat 1988, Cheng 1987, Hu 1996, Lim 1997)

In the above figure, the systematic transformation of sounds, characters and meanings of the Saisiyat *sinayhou* names and the Chinese surnames are illustrated and analysed. There are a few critical principles involved in the changes. First, the multi-syllabic Saisiyat *sinayhou* name was simplified into a single character, one syllable Chinese surname. Second, the Saisiyat *sinayhou* name which was separate from one's given name was later combined with the personal name. It has been used in a three-character Han Chinese style name, wherein the first character represents a surname and the following two characters represents a personal name.

For example, in the case of 'Ri A-kwi' (日阿拐), the name of a famous Saisiyat camphor war leader in history, 'Ri' (日 meaning 'sun' in Chinese) is based on his Saisiyat *sinayhou* name, '*Tanohila*' (meaning 'sun' in Saisiyat), while 'A-kwi'(阿拐) is from a popular Saisiyat male given name '*akwai*'. Lastly and most importantly, the Chinese writing system is a pictograph system; every Chinese character is a drawing image. Thus, when the Saisiyat *sinayhou* names were transformed into the pictographic Chinese characters, extra visual qualities were added to Saisiyat *sinayhou* names. In this way, corresponding Chinese characters that were used to create a set of imagery symbols for *sinayhou* names had further enhanced the system of identification for the Saisiyat.

It appears that by the end of the 19th century, the Saisiyat *sinayhou* names had been well transformed into Chinese surnames in formal documents. Almost every Saisiyat *sinayhou* name had developed a corresponding Chinese surname as mentioned above. Interestingly, although these Chinese surnames used by the Saisiyat are represented in Chinese characters, many of them are not commonly used as surnames for Han Chinese people. Thus, in historical documents, we could easily identify the Saisiyat from the Chinese according to their written surnames. It shows that since the Qing period, the transformed Chinese surnames have been popularly used by the Saisiyat, especially in official occasions.

This situation did not change in the early years of the Japanese colonization, as the government did not require the indigenous people to adopt Japanese names. However, in the later stages, though people in Taiwan were encouraged to adopt Japanese names, this policy was not fully implemented. As such, many indigenous people still registered their native names in *katakana* (Japanese sound-spelling system). It was not until the outbreak of war with China in 1937 that the Japanese government started to promote the *kominka* policy (assimilated policy to make Taiwanese become imperial Japanese citizens) whereby all the residents in Taiwan, including the indigenous people, were forced to adopt Japanese names (Lim 2000). Typical Japanese surnames are composed of two Chinese characters; thus, all the Saisiyat Chinese surnames had to be changed immediately. This process caused serious problems because many identical clans had been assigned different Japanese names. For example, the *Tautauwazai* clan which was

systematically translated into a Chinese character '豆' (*dou* in Chinese, which literally means 'peanut') had been registered under more than 16 different Japanese names, such as 山川、山中、山田、伊波、村山、谷川、保田、宮本、春山、島田、福田、松木、山本、古賀、豆田、松井. Worst of all, none of these Japanese names were related to its original *sinayhou* lexical meaning. Thus, the Saisayat's *sinayhou* system of classification and identification of social groups was really diminished.

Fortunately, the divergent Japanese style names had only been used for less than five years. In 1945, the Japanese retreated from Taiwan after they lost the war, and the Nationalist Party (KMT) government from China succeeded to take over Taiwan. In order to eradicate the impact of Japanese *kominka* policy and to re-establish Chinese legitimacy in Taiwan, the KMT government announced that everyone in Taiwan had to resume using a Han Chinese name within three months. Many indigenous people from the mountainous areas who did not have Chinese names were made to adopt a Chinese surname simply assigned arbitrarily by local officials. Thus, it was not unusual that members of the same family or lineage had been assigned different Chinese surnames. While many indigenous groups suffered from the new naming policy due to its serious disturbance of kinship relations and social orders, the Saisiyat revived its accord by using the Chinese names they had before.

In 1996, the Taiwanese government finally loosened its Han Chauvinism personal naming policy and allowed all Taiwan residents to register in their native names.[7] To support the rising indigenous movement, some indigenous people immediately changed their names to the 'so called' indigenous style names, which generally mark the verbal sounds of the native personal names in Chinese characters. Following this new trend, some radical Saisiyat youths also changed their names like other indigenous people in Taiwan. Consequently, the unique Saisiyat '*sinayhou* name' has been characterized according to pronunciation. For

[7] There are still some restrictions. For example, it must be registered in Chinese characters; and it should not be more than 10 characters long.

instance, a man from the *Kaibaibaw* (literally 'high') clan changed his Chinese surname from '高' (*Gao*, literally 'high') to '改擺刨' (*Gaibaibaw,* which has no literal meaning). He then registered his name as '*tahes • tayin • Gaibaibao*', with '*tahes a tayin*' as his personal name (adjoining his father's name) placing in the front and '*Gaibaibao*' as his *sinayhou* name placing in the back.

However, this indigenous naming movement was not well accepted among the Saisiyat. In a community meeting held in 2001, many Saisiyat elders expressed disagreement with the new naming principles, especially in terms of clan names. They were afraid that the hidden meaning of *sinayhou* names will be forgotten if they would follow other indigenous groups in translating their names based on verbal sounds. They thought that the new naming trend might cause serious damage to their tradition and eventually result in losing their critical connections with their ancestors.

In 2002, I interviewed a young Saisiyat who changed his name six years ago following the new indigenous movement at its early stage. He said he was very happy to have his native personal name changed according to verbal sounds, because it appeared very distinctive and reflective of his indigenous background. However, he admitted that he changed his name without further consideration. After he took a longer time to think it from different perspectives, he agreed with the elders' opinion on the preference of significant lexical meanings of Saisiyat clan names. Thus, he expressed his concern on what effects of changing Saisiyat surnames according to indigenous sounds could bring about in the future.

The pan-indigenous naming movement reveals that a cultural tradition is not freely invented following an external stimulus. It is a long-term process of negotiation and renegotiation based on some formulated schema within the collective context. In the Saisiyat society, the *sinayhou* naming system plays an influential role in the formation of social orders and practices. In accordance with the wider socio-political changes, the *sinayhou* names have been transformed. But, in the process of transformation, the hidden natural entities embedded in literal meanings of *sinayhou* names have been anxiously preserved and well remembered. The ancestral messages have been consistently and repeatedly transmitted through the stable meanings in *sinayhou* names, either in Saisiyat language or in Chinese

characters. For these reasons, I would argue that this conceivably fixed Saisiyat *sinayhou* system provides a stable foundation for the Saisiyat to structure the world into a conceptually unified and continued whole through connecting to ancestors in a timeless world.

3-3. Circulating Personal Names and Reproducing Ancestral Essences

Different from defining the common ancestral origin in *sinayhou* names, Saisiyat personal given names ('*kap-raro:o'an*' in Saisiyat) are focused on circulating the essence of particular individual ancestors. A Saisiyat personal given name is also inherited genealogically from the father's family naming history. A full Saisiyat personal name consists of two parts. The first part is one's own given name, and the second adjoining part is the father's given name (PGN + FGN). Normally, the first son in the family inherits a name from his grandfather (father's father, FF), and the first daughter inherits a name from her grandmother (father's mother, FM); while the second son inherits a name from one of his granduncles (FF's brothers or male cousins), and the second daughter inherits a name from one of her grandaunts (FF's sisters or female cousins). Let us take for example, '*umao • boon*'. Being the first son in the family, he inherits the name *umao* from his FF as his personal given name and adjoins his father's given name *boon* (which may have been inherited from his great FF if his father is also the first son in the family) as his full given name.[8] Consequently, all *umao*'s brothers and sisters will be named as '*xxxx • boon*'. However, in daily conversations, '*umao • boon*' is addressed as '*umao a boon*' which literally means '*umao*, the son of *boon*'.[9]

This gives the idea that a Saisiyat given name is duplicated and reused by descendents in every other generation and through inheriting the given name, an

---

[8] Following the same rule, the first son of '*Umao • Boon*' will be '*Boon • Umao*'; and his first grandson will be '*Umao • Boon*' again.

[9] A word of 'a' or 'na' is added in the middle of the two parts of the full given name as a connector depending on the ending sound of the first part.

endless name cycle is established. This cycle would only be broken if the cause of death of the previous beholder was passed away in an evil way, such as a beheading, a snakebite, a car accident, a drowning, or a suicide. The name of anyone who died in an evil manner will be avoided further inheritance by the members of the clan.[10] From this point of view, we could derive that the personal name of the Saisiyat is not just a distinctive mark to identify an individual. Moreover, a Saisiyat personal given name is neither inherited plainly for commemorating an ancestor, for tracking the memory of ancestors and past generations. But more importantly, it is a medium to transmit the indispensable essence from an ancestor to the contemporary beholder, to revive the essence of an ancestor in human beings of the present time. Thus, it explains why the name of a person who died in a bad way should be avoided.

On giving a personal name to a new family member, it is usually the grandfather or a close male elder with the same clan name who would choose a good name from the hereditary names in the family. Male given names are strictly differentiated from female given names. Each clan normally inherits several personal given names from ancestors and these names are passed on to the following generations. These names are known as *arasen ka raro:* ('names to be taken' in Saisiyat), which means they are open to be taken by the descendents. For example, in the *Baiba* clan, the inherited male names include *boon*, *tayin, umao*, *kale, obai*, while the female names include *toway*, *away*, *a:ao*, *'ewen*, and *tiwas*.

The personal given names are different from the *sinayhou* names as most of them have no special lexical meanings. In addition, these names are not exclusively inherited and owned by one patriclan. Many given names are commonly used and shared among different clans. Sometimes, if a family has too many children and all their inherited names have been used up, they could use a name borrowed from other clans. Thus, the Saisiyat given names appear to be very repetitive and limited but they also tend to circulate flexibly among various

[10] In the past, the body of the one who died in an accident was not carried back to the village but was buried outside right away.

clans and generations. Records show that less than 60 Saisiyat male given names and 40 female given names have been recurrently used.[11] Among them, about 50% have also been used in their Atayal neighbours. This must be because of the intensive intermarriages between the two groups. However, these small numbers of shared given names have represented most of the Saisiyat people in the past, in the present, and very likely in the future. As generations go by, these given names that represent inherited past essences will be repeatedly circulated and relived among the Saisiyat.

Although the Saisiyat name giving ritual is short and simple, it is comprised of rich symbolic meanings. It usually takes place a few days after the birth of a newborn baby, if no death occurs in the family within a month.[12] The process of name giving is accompanied by applying leaves of a special grass onto the head of the new name receiver. This special grass is called *kati'azem* (literally meaning 'things make soul'; *azem* means 'soul' in Saisiyat). Its thick tiny green leaves explicitly show the features of spreading, flourishing, and forever growing. In the early morning of the naming ritual day, a male elder in the family would go out to collect a cup of mountain spring and a few leaves of the *kati'azem* grass from the field. A person with the same clan name and the same gender as the name receiver, who is healthy, lucky, and has never been bitten by a snake before, is selected to be the name giver. As the sun rises, the name giver picks the first leaf of *kati'azem*, soaks it in the water and applies it onto the forehead of the baby. Then the second leaf is placed on the right cheek, and the third leaf on the left cheek, following the same procedure. After which, the name giver fetches the baby and turns to face the rising sun, drinks a mouthful of mountain water from the cup, spits water toward the baby and says, '*Now you are named 'xxx'. It's good, it's good. Don't cry and grow fast.*' (*So'o sin umao'on, kaykayzaehan, ini' homangih,*

---

[11] The Saisiyat male names include *atao, aro, umao, eteh, boon, tarao, bo:a, tayin, kale, taymo, tayaw, taos, tahes, para:in, baSi, obay, Siyat, pilin, suyen, kayno, awi, aseb, karahe, yopas, maytih, topen, bawnay, ma'ay, omin, iban, rangaw, watan, raman*; while female names include *away, api, atiyai,okay, tapas, maya, tiwas, mo:ei, toway, a:aw, yaway, wa:on, raro, paza, amoy, kirao, ewen, kizaw, sayta, yoma, yoki, kawkol, yarim, paza*, etc.

[12] According to Saisiyat informants, in the past, they believed that a newborn baby would become a real living person after his or her naval cord has fallen off.

bathen'oel). By finishing this procedure, the chosen ancestral given name is believed to have been attached ritually onto the body of the new name receiver.

The act of applying *ka-ti'azem* leaves is called *bathen'oel* (literally meaning 'make grow'; *bathan* means 'body', while *'oel* means 'to grow') or *bathen-ti'azem* (literally meaning 'make soul grass') in Saisiyat. It is a symbolic practice performed when giving a name to a new member of the clan. In fact, this practice is popularly used in many Saisiyat lifecycle rituals, wherein new members from outside are received into a Saisiyat family, such as at a wedding, birth of a newborn, or adoption. The combined elements of the grass leaves and the rising sun serve as symbols of growth and fertility for the body as well as the soul of the new name receiver. From this, we could say that another purpose of the Saisiyat name giving ritual is to enhance the transformational power of growth and fertility in an individual. In real practice, it emphasizes on making direct bodily contact with natural elements needed to acquire tangible essence. In addition, it highlights on the interaction between the senior name-giver and the junior name-receiver, which further symbolizes the transmission of life forces from an older person to a younger person, as well as from the ancestors to the living Saisiyat, thereby transcending generational boundaries.

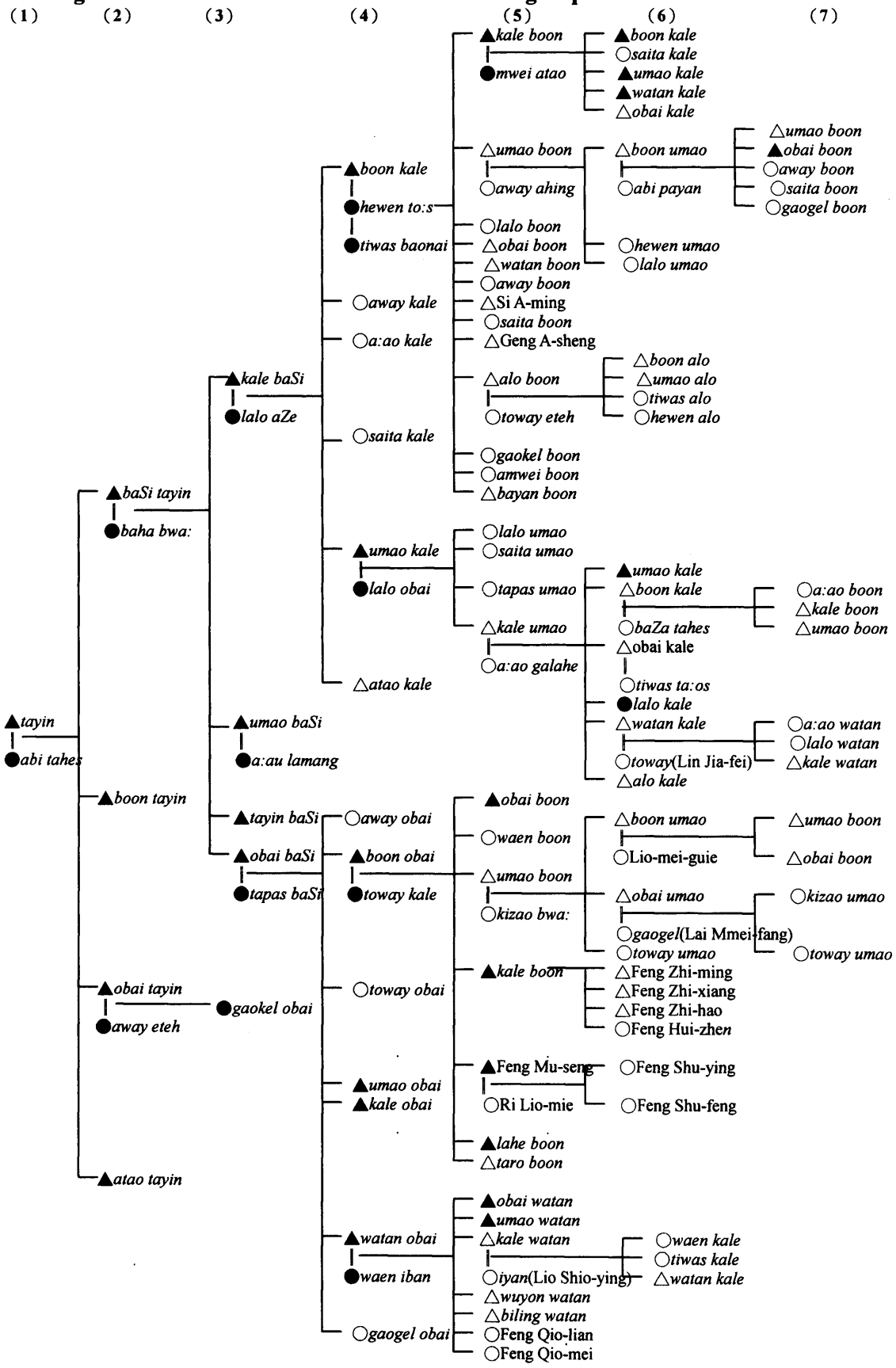
In the past 60 years, Saisiyat given names have faced strong changing pressures, because all indigenous people were asked to register using Han Chinese names. Since a Saisiyat given name is usually inherited and shared by many different individuals, it caused confusion to the registration officials to record and identify every individual. Thus, many Saisiyat people were encouraged to use a Chinese given name to express the distinctiveness of each individual rather than to preserve heredity. Under these circumstances, the native given names of many young Saisiyat are rarely used and called, even by their parents, relatives or close friends. Their inherited given names are like things stored in a hidden place which are taken out occasionally when people try to trace the hereditary line in the family. Some informants told me that quite a few youngsters have not been given a native personal name at all, if their parents did not to stay in touch with their clan relatives after migrating to the city. Facing the changing lifestyle, some elders are very anxious about the dangers in the modern days which might cause

the loss of their clan members through the loss of ancestral essence embedded in personal names. In order to remind the younger generations not to forget their ancestors and the significance of inheriting ancestors' names, quite a few grandfathers nowadays who live in the mountain villages take the initiative of going to the city to perform the ritual of name giving to their grandchildren. To do so, the old man has to collect mountain spring water and *ka-ti'azem* leaves in the very early morning, carry these materials all the way to the city, and hold a simple naming ritual for the newborn baby. This is processed despite the fact that sometimes the mother of the newborn is not a Saisiyat, and in such case, may not understand or appreciate the efforts being made.

Before the writing system was introduced, the Saisiyat people could trace their ancestors' given names only by oral memory. Though a few families tried to adopt a Chinese genealogical book and to write down the Saisiyat given names in Chinese characters, it was not popularly practiced because the multi-syllable phonetic sounds of the native names are not easy to translate into Chinese characters. According to some informants, many elders in the past could remember their ancestors' names back to about 10 generations. However, in my research, when I inquired about inherited names, most informants could trace their ancestors' names back to not more than three or four generations. Sometimes, members of the same *aehae pas-baki'an* ('the ancestral ceremonial practicing group') would ask me to put together their ancestors' names that I collected from different families and recite these names to them. They were glad to find that the recorded Saisiyat given names sounded better in Romanised letters than in Chinese characters. Though not many Saisiyat can read the Romanised name records at that time, some of them asked me for a copy of the combined name chart, which expressed their serious concern to preserve their ancestors' names for the future descendents.

The following name chart of one *aehae pas-baki'an* of *Babai* clan from the *Lalai* settlement illustrates names of people from several families in the group as recounted by their descendents. From this name chart, we can see that the span of their memory with regard to ancestral names. Some people remember more names, while some remember less. Though usually men, especially older men,

Figure 10. Personal Names inherited in the Sub-group of the *Babai* Clan at *Lalai*



--▲&● means man and woman who are died repectively; △&○ means man & woman who are alive.
--Names in *italic letters* means Han Chinese names.

paid more attention to the name inheritance issue, it cannot be determined by gender and age. Many informants explained it is more related to how much time they spent with senior relatives or grandparents during their childhood. If a man went to work out of the village when he was very young, he could not remember more names than a woman who stayed all her life in the village. In this sub-clan group, I collected names of seven generations from the first remembered ancestor to the youngest living generation. The name of the very first ancestor, who was born around the 1860s, is not presented in full, since his father's given name cannot be recalled.

In fact, members of this sub-clan group are mainly descended from the first son of the second generation, called the *baSi· tayin*. This group is regarded as the *aehae ga'amaan* (which means 'descendents of one blood ancestor') of *baSi· tayin*. Among the *aehae ga'amaan*, there are two groups of *aehae baki'* ('one ancestor' or 'one grandfather') generated from two brothers in the third generation: the *kale· baSi* and the *tayin· baSi*. Members of the same *aehae baki'* group tend to remember their generational relations and kinsmen's names more clearly. From the same chart, we could also view that people could only recall Saisiyat given names from ancestors of the past three generations. However, most of those from the fourth generation who were born around the 1940s and 50s, are referred by both their Saisiyat names and Chinese names at the same time. In the chart, many of the two younger generations who were born around the 1980s and 90s, their Saisiyat given names could not be recalled. This may reflect that their given names are rarely used in everyday life, or some of them lost contact with their kinsmen.

From retrieving memories of personal names in a sub-clan group, some hidden relationships between given and inherited names could be identified. To illustrate, if one family had too many sons, some of them might be given to other patriclans as adopted children and this results in losing their original inherited names. Besides, women's names were paid as much attention as men's names, regardless of being married-in or married-out. Other than the given names, most informants were highly concerned about which clan the married-in women came from and which clan the married-out women went to. It shows that social relations

between clan members and hereditary connections with ancestors could be traced through the path of circulation and repetition of given names. These names are handed down genealogically to individuals in the clan. New members who carry the names of their senior members keep continuing the cycle.

The circulation of personal given names represents the power of reviving and reproducing. These names, as things that transmit ancestral substance and essence, are focused on expressing repetitivity rather than on individual personalities. Thus, other nicknames had been popularly used among the Saisiyat to express the distinctive personality and temporality of an individual. For the older generations who are over 50, especially men, many have nicknames. They are known as '*kap-ririyan*' in Saisiyat which literally mean joking names to convey ironic physical, moral, or personal historical features.[13] For example, a man who liked to play with knives when he was a child has a nickname as '*malat*' which means 'indigenous knife'. Another man who likes drinking and once drank six bottles of wine in a short while was given the nickname '*lobon*' which means 'six bottles'.

However, from different types of Saisiyat names, we could find two kinds of dialectical oppositions. One is the opposition between collectively inherited given names (*kapraro:o'an*) and individually created nicknames (*kap-ririyan*). The uniqueness and creativity in the use of nicknames contrasts the repetition and relication in the inherited given names. Another opposition is between the inherited personal given names and the clan names (*sinayhou*). The recursion of an individual's connection with a specific ancestor in the given name contrasts the uniformity of collective connection with clan ancestors in the clan name. Eventually, the nexus of people's names constitutes multiple linkages with ancestors for the Saisiyat, and also enhance each individual's essence of being a Saisiyat.

---

[13] Nicknames are often taken from special things that happened to or a physical peculiarity of an individual. Usually they are more popularly used and remembered than the inherited names.

3-4. Marriage Exchange, Making Alliances and Woman's Role

Without doubt the continuity of a social group depends on the physical reproduction of offspring, which is ultimately based on the success of finding reliable marriage partners. Levi-Strauss has suggested that intermarriage is the primary form of human exchange, 'which affects human society to transit from hostility to alliance, from anxiety to confidence, and from fear to friendship' (Levi-Strauss 1969: 398-409). For him, the exchange of women is in a sense of reciprocal gifts. Starting from this point, I will argue that reciprocity is also a highlighted aspect in the Saisiyat marriage exchange. But more than that, in the implicit and hidden level, there is a strong intention to transmit ancestral essence through the process of marriage exchange and alliance. Munn and Weiner have noticed the dynamic transformations and paradoxes in exchanging resources and constructing social relations through marriage. In her study of Gawa, Munn elaborates that marriage exchanges transfer valuable resources, construct relations and transform social status according to the dominant Gawan schema or template (Munn 1986:121). In Weiner's work entitled *Inalienable Possessions* (1992), she claims that an inevitable paradox between keeping and giving important resources is associated with sustaining cosmological authenticity and social identity (Weiner 1992). However, among the Saisiyat, I would argue that inherited people's names have played fundamental roles in keeping and giving ancestral essence. These names, in a sense, generate a key template to govern marriage exchange and social alliances.

As I have mentioned in previous sections, all Saisiyat marriages are developed based on the basic concept of clan exogamy.[14] A woman must marry out of her natal clan group to another group with different clan names. All children she reproduces are supposed to inherit names from her husband's clan. In this way, a married woman is the critical figure who moves across the clan boundary and generates stable alliance between the two clans. Though women

[14] A few clans also regarded themselves as closely related clans who should not marry each other. However, the restriction of exogamy between close related clans is not so strict and could be broken by practicing some rituals.

marry out to make alliances for their families and clans, they are not just objects to be exchanged. They are also subjects who contribute to enhance and validate the power of alliance through the ancestral essence they inherit.

In the past, a preferred Saisiyat marriage pattern was to find a marriage partner through direct exchange of women between two families ('*tauan*') with different clan names. To do this, each family had to give one sister or daughter to another household in a sense of immediate reciprocity. Each household would give out and take in a wife. In Saisiyat, this way of marriage exchange is called *hingha* (literally meaning 'balanced' or 'bilateral'). Ideally, the process of two-way exchange in *hingha* should be accomplished within one generation. It is considered balanced only when both families have given out a woman to move into the other's house. Basically, the *hingha* marriage exchange is developed through the unit of individual family according to its clan name, instead of the extended level of whole clan. However, if a family could not provide a daughter or sister for a balanced marriage, other complementary arrangements called *komihili* (meaning 'unbalanced') could be made. Various unbalanced marriage arrangements were alternatives considered in *komihili*, such as paying a high bride price, providing long-term labour services, marrying into a woman's family, or borrowing a woman first and returning a woman to the loaner's family afterwards.

The balanced marriage among the Saisiyat had been widely practiced until about 20 years ago. Since increasing numbers of young people moved to work in the cities due to the economic boom in Taiwan starting1970s, many young men and women left their families at about 15 years old and adopted the new way of life in the major cities in Taiwan. More and more people found their marriage partners through courtships rather than through parents' arrangement. Thereafter, the balanced marriage quickly disappeared. However, even today, we still find a very high percentage of Saisiyat couples aged over 45 years old were married through the *hingha* arrangements. It is very common in a family that the mother's brother ('*mama*' in Saisiyat) is also the father's sister's husband (also called '*mama*' in Saisiyat), while the father's sister ('*ada*' in Saisiyat) is also the mother's brother's wife (also '*ada*' in Saisiyat). As a result of balanced exchange, each marriage cycle constructs doubled-strength bonds between two intermarried families with

different clan names. Relations thus extending from individuals to families and to clans, the nexus of marriage exchanges in the Saisiyat constitute entwisted bounds that bind their society as a whole.

Though the way one finds marriage partners has changed, basic concepts of progressing relations through marriage are generally the same. The role of a man and a woman in marriage is implied by the lexical terms used in the Saisiyat. Man, or *kama-mangraan*, means 'one who is walking around', while woman or *minkoringan*, means 'one who is carrying kids'. For a man who is marrying a woman, the term '*mari-ka-ma'iaeh* (meaning 'taking a person') or *mari-ka-minkoringan* (meaning 'taking a woman') is used to describe; while for a woman who is marrying a man, the term *hinlai* is use to mean 'marrying out', or *rima rwaSek* is used to express 'living out'. However, it should not be concluded that the Saisiyat woman is a subordinate and powerless creature. In fact, most Saisiyat married women are important pillars of family economies; they are key figures in cultivating the field, raising domestic stocks, making clothes or craftworks, cooking and housekeeping. They are the ones who keep daily life on track like many other Austronesian women. The significant roles of women are also reflected in Saisiyat rituals. Most Saisiyat life-cycle rituals are centred on married women. From the stages of marriage negotiation, proposal, wedding, child delivery, to various phases of natal-home-visiting rituals, married women are the focal points for ritual practicing. They are regarded as mediators who can influence prosperity and fertility of her husband's family, especially through the power of her clan ancestors. In the following discussions, I shall analyse the implicit power of women through marriage developments in the changing spatial-temporal contexts.

To make a balanced exchange in the past, the marriage agreement was initiated by exchanging pipes of the headmen of the agreeing families. This could be done at a very early stage when the girl was still a child. After the girl reached her puberty (around 15 years old), the wife-taker's family would come to the girl's house with a matchmaker (usually headman or a respectful elder in their village), carrying tobacco, pork, and rice wine as gifts to ask for permission to take the girl. This process is called *tomlai* or *dikabaza'an* in Saisiyat. The girl's

family would usually ask the opinion of the girl and of other senior relatives of the family. But, many elderly woman told me that when their parents asked their opinions they were too young to understand what a marriage was about, therefore found nothing to say against their parents' arrangements. In this way, their parents and senior relatives decided on their marriages. When the girl's family had given consent to her marriage, a ritual of engagement called *inolul* (meaning 'selecting and caring the sprout') or *man-tamago* (meaning 'one tobacco') would be held in the girl's house. For engagement, the wife-taker's family had to prepare animal meat and sticky-rice cakes for the wife-giver's family. When the designated day came, spokesmen of each family gave a short ritual speech to tell ancestors of two clans about the forthcoming marriage. By the end of the ritual, headmen the two families exchanged to smoke each other's tobacco (*tatabeh-ka-tamako*) to assure the marriage agreement.[15] In the process of asking and assuring a marriage agreement, pipe and tobacco had been symbolic objects.

A few days after the engagement, the man's family had to prepare food and invite the woman's family and relatives as well as the engaged girl to a feast. This was for a ritual of negotiation (*papSikaka:i*) and reconciliation (*papsbalay*) to release all hidden, dissatisfied or resentful feelings between both the families and clans in the past. Only by finishing this process, would the forthcoming marriage be blessed by the ancestors. The wedding day could take a few days, or more than one or two years after the *papsbalay*. For the Saisiyat, the wedding day (*mari ka ma':aeh*) was a day to take the woman away from her natal family. Parents and relatives of the groom would bring a whole set of new costumes and ornaments to the bride's house. The bride was urged and forced to leave by her natal family alone. After leaving her natal home and village, she had to take away her old clothes and leave them by the roadside, and her natal family would come to pick them up later. Then, the bride would change to the whole set of new costumes and ornaments brought by her in-laws. When she arrives at the groom's house, the bride would be handed over a broom and be asked to do a symbolic sweeping in

[15] The marriage agreement could be cancelled if either family had asked to call it off; or more seriously, if previous enmity between the two clans could be recalled.

the house. Later on, a feast called *pap-si'ael* (meaning 'eating together') would offer to relatives and neighbours for celebrating.

Nowadays, Saisiyat marriage arrangements have been transformed due to outside influences and changes in lifestyle. But, critical symbolic actions and objects for advancing a marriage and securing good relationships in a marriage are still emphasized in the modern life. For example, the success of a marriage is believed to depend on blessings from ancestors of the two clans. Thus, in every stage of the marriage, offerings and oratory speeches are made to clan ancestors and reconciliation of past enmity between two clans are emphasized. In addition, objects with specific qualities are still necessities to be transacted as a sign of agreement, or as gifts and counter-gifts. In the past, for a balanced marriage, women were regarded as the most precious things to be transferred; thus, only small amounts of edible or inedible goods were exchanged as subsidiary transactions to express amicability and consolidation. The wife-taker's family usually presents meat, sticky-rice cakes, wine, tobacco, costumes, shell-bead ornaments and knives to the wife-giver's family; while the latter's family would prepare sticky rice, baskets, costumes, weaving tools or cloth-making equipment for her daughter as gifts (*pina'araS* in Saisiyat, literally meaning 'things to be taken away'). But, for an unbalanced exchange, usually a very high-valued bride price (called *inaba'iw ka minkoringan, meaning* 'price to buy a woman', or *inabos noka ma'iaeh,* meaning 'price to buy a person' in Saisiyat) would be asked. According to a record documented 80 years ago, the bride price was about one cow, one pig, and 10 to 30 silver dollars during the pre-Japanese period, which raised to about four cows, four pigs, plus 60 silver dollars during the Japanese period (Kojima 1917; Institute of Ethnology 1998:120).

Since most Saisiyat marriages are unbalanced exchange at present, the expenditure to settle a marriage is very high. Normally, the wife-taker's family has to spend more than 200,000 NT dollars, which could mean more than the two years' total income of a family's cultivated products, or a year's wage salary of one person who works in the factory. The wife-giver's family would also offer some return gifts. The transacted materials are not only in forms of Saisiyat traditional food gifts (such as wine, pig meat and sticky rice cakes), but they also

include new things like Chinese wedding cakes, gold ornaments, modern clothes and shoes, furniture, electric equipment, and cash. Recently, marriages between Saisiyat men and overseas women from Southeast Asia have been increasing, following a trend caused by the difficulty of the young men in rural villages to find a wife in Taiwan.[16] There is a network of transnational matchmaking and marriage arranging business in the Saisiyat area. To have a Southeast Asian bride, a Saisiyat family usually has to pay around 300,000 NT dollars to the professional matchmaking broker. The payment includes a series of services provided by the broker, such as providing a list of women for selection, making arrangements to meet girls overseas, bringing back the bride, finishing all the legal documents for immigration, and cooperating in the Saisiyat marriage rituals.

Although there are quite a few people who are attracted by the convenience of the transnational marriage services, many Saisiyat are aware of the risk involved in taking a wife who is a stranger. When I talked with one Saisiyat mother who was worried about her son's marriage because he could not find a marriage partner in his late 30s, she expressed her reluctance to accept a transnational daughter-in-law. She said that although some overseas girls married to the Saisiyat are nice, diligent, and responsible; it is still very risky because they have no idea of the girl's family and clan connections. As an individual without clan connections as bases, many transnational married-in women fled away and disappeared in the middle of a marriage life. The marriage payment would be wasted and it could not be refunded. Thus, many Saisiyat mothers still prefer a daughter-in-law from either the Saisiyat or other groups in Taiwan.

In general, Saisiyat marriages involve serious tasks on the creation of new lives and the transformation of life forces. In the long developmental processes, a married woman is the important medium for mediating life transformation. Thus, most Saisiyat rites of passages are practiced following the life progress of a married woman. Ritually speaking, a married Saisiyat woman, accompanied by

---

[16] Quite a few Saisiyat women are married to Japanese husbands, because they came out to work in restaurants or pubs and served Japanese tourists or contract workers in Taiwan since 1970s.

her husband and her husband's kinsmen, has to visit her natal family at several critical stages in her life. These rituals have become more elaborate in practice and more splendid in scale in recent 10 years following the political-economic changes. There are four natal-home-visiting rituals performed by a married woman. The first one is the *monsaesaep*, which is practiced a few days after the wedding day.[17] The second one is the *mala-ka-aza* or *mala-ka-kokoring*, which is held after the birth of her first child. It is a ritual wherein the newborn child is presented to the married woman's natal family. The third is *maSpazau*, which is practiced when the youngest child of the married woman has grown up. This is the largest and the most important ritual for a married woman, because the success of this ritual decides the health and wealth of her offspring and the future of her husband's family. The fourth and the last one is the *mazau*, which is held either after the married woman or her husband dies (depending on who dies first). Among these four rituals, emphasis is given to the last two wherein more kinsmen, affines and friends are expected to attend, and more food-gifts would be transacted.

Through these natal-home-visiting rituals, the power of the woman's natal ancestors could be transmitted to her offspring and her husband's family via transacting food-gifts and applying *kati'azem* leaves. In these rituals, a step of *haehaeong* must be processed, in which male spokesmen of both clans are invited to make a ritual speech to ancestors of each clan. These performances show that, in one sense, the natal-home-visiting rituals aim to safeguard and protect the well-being of the married-out woman. In another sense, these rituals symbolically

---

[17] According to the record made 80 years ago, the Saisiyat bride would ritually visit her natal home several times after the wedding. The first was *somtinaobun* (means 'making sticky-rice cake') which was processed four days after the wedding. On this day, the groom and his kinsmen would make *somtinaobun* ('sticky-rice cake'), and bring some pork and wine to the bride's natal home with the bride. The second visit was made a few days after *somtinaobun*, which was called *somsinpapa'* (means 'making loose sticky-rice'). On this day when the bride and groom carried sticky-rice to visit the bride's natal home, the dowry would be given to the bride by her parents at this time. Few months after the *somsinpapa'* the groom's family and kinsmen would make wine and visit the bride's natal home with the bride and groom. On this day, the groom's father would give a knife to the bride's father and they would share a cup of wine together. Also, the bride would drink the wine with her father, uncles and brothers one by one in the traditional Saisiyat way of drinking (called '*latheb*'). Please see Institute of Ethnology 1998:103-105.

enhance ancestral connections between the wife's natal clan and her husband's; thus increasing the life force for her offspring.

These ritual arrangements show that ancestral connections empower Saisiyat woman and grant her a distinctive status in a strict patrilineal and patrilocal society. The inseparable links between a married woman and her natal ancestors are consistently expressed in different aspects. For examples a Saisiyat woman does not change her maiden clan name after getting married.[18] Other than that, in the past, if a woman's husband died earlier, she had to go back and live with her natal family (usually with her father or brother). Nowadays, a married woman tends to stay and live with her children after her husband's death; but her brothers usually would dramatically blame her children for not taking good care of her and threaten to take her back in the ritual of *mazau* (the fourth natal-home-visiting ritual). More seriously, in the old days, if a married woman died in her husband's house, her body should not be touched by her husband's family members who have different clan names, not even by her own children. Only those from her natal house or those with the same clan name with her were allowed to do so. Nowadays, although this act has become acceptable, people still prefer to have someone from her natal house or clan to clean her body for funeral. From this perspective, a Saisiyat woman has not been given away by her natal family after she marries; the links with her natal ancestors have never been broken until she dies.

Mauss has first pointed out that exchange is not merely of an economic nature, but is 'a total social fact' (Mauss 1925). Based on this argument, Levi-Strauss has further claimed that exchange of women is a primordial model for human society, which contributes to contrasting social differences, creating social relations, and generating social fertility and productivity (Levi-Strauss 1969). As seen in the case of the Saisiyat, the ideal marriage rule is to have a direct exchange of women. From the surface level, women are the incomparably valued things to

---

[18] In some cases, Saisiyat woman have been registered under her husband's surname in the registration office, which most due to the automatic assumption made by the Chinese clerks.

be exchanged, because they have the potency to produce and reproduce the most critical resources— children and food, which could sustain her husband's family. But, as stated earlier, a Saisiyat woman is not totally given away after marriage. Her marriage and relocation do not spiritually alienate her from her natal group. She is inseparable from her natal clan or clan ancestors. In a marriage cycle, she acts as a long-term mediator between her husband's group and her natal group. She is the most important agent who crosses the boundaries of 'selves' and 'others' between two intermarried groups. Due to the unbreakable ancestral relations, the woman-taker's group makes great efforts to keep amicable relations with the woman's natal group; and the woman's natal group show complicated and indebted feelings to their married out daughte in various natal-home-visiting rituals.

Strathern has critized that Western ideas of contrasting woman and man as 'domestic' and 'public' is not necessarily helpful for the understanding of indigenous social relations in Melanesia, since the goals of 'the domestic' and 'the collective' could merge to such an extent that most of the men's endeavours are 'directed toward the same production of domestic kinship, growth and fertility' as concern the women (Strathern 1988:318). Conversely, in the Saisiyat, women's values, other than domestic growth and fertility, are also expressed in the collective domain for social consolidation and unification. As a subject moving across boundaries of households, lineages, and clans, women hold critical agency to construct the paths for social alliances. However, ancestral power is inseparably attached to a Saisiyat woman's body through inherited names. Her clan name legitimates resources to validate the authority and identity of her clan group, while her personal given name is inherited as her first granddaughter's name and future female offspring's name which documents and marks the unification of two groups.

3-5. Adoptions, Changing Names, and Enhancing Life Forces

In addition to marriage exchange, similar principles regarding the transmission of ancestral essences through personal naming are widely expressed in another major domain of social reproduction-- child adoption. Child adoption has been

frequently and complexly practiced among the Saisiyat. From historical writings dating back to 120 years ago, we find that many famous Saisiyat headmen were Han Chinese sons adopted by the Saisiyat. In fact, different types of child adoptions can be identified and differentiated. Although the sources and methods in acquiring a child and relations between the adopting family and the adopted child are different, all adoptions are legitimated and validated through the process of name giving to the adoptee. No matter what type of adoption it is, the adoptee gains authority to make his place legitimate and acquire ancestral essence from the adopter's family through changing names.

In the Saisiyat society, two types of child adoption are clearly distinguished. The first is the physical adoption, which means that the adopted child is physically moved to live with the adopter and is authorized to inherit rights and properties of the adopters in the future. The second is the spiritual adoption; in which the adoptee does not move to live with the adopter or inherits rights and properties from the adopter's family; eventually in this case, the adoptee has to be returned to his or her natal family before getting married.

Physical adoption had been a very popular practice in many Saisiyat families, because for them, human resources are conceived as the most precious valuables. Many Saisiyat informants enthusiastically and proudly cited adoptees in their family histories or their neighbour's family histories. But, due to changes in the concept of property and legal system, the cases of physical adoption have obviously declined among the Saisiyat. According to the narratives of some elders, there were several ways to obtain a child for physical adoption in the past, among which some are still in practice, but many have been prohibited nowadays. The simplest way to adopt a child from the family with the same clan name is called *pa-tanisowaw* ('to live together'). In this kind of adoption, the adopter's family does not pay any price to the child's natal family. The adopted child just moves over to live with the adopter and inherits rights and properties without changing original name, neither personal nor clan name. In this case, the adoptee also addresses the adoptive couples as 'uncle' (*mama*) and 'aunt' (*ada*).

Another more popular way of adoption in the past was to buy a child, either from a Saisiyat family with a different clan name or from a non-Saisiyat family,

such as the Atayal or Han Chinese. In this kind of adoption, the child-taker's family had to pay an agreed price to the child-giver's family before they took the adopted child back to live with them. If the transaction was practiced between the Saisiyat and the Han Chinese, usually, a written document was made to confirm the condition of the adoptee. Also, the adopted child was given a personal given name and the adopter's clan name following the Saisiyat naming system. Afterwards, relations between the adoptee and his/her natal family would be permanently cut off. He/she would start to address the adopters as 'father' (*yaba*) and 'mother' (*ina*); and would also have rights to share properties and inheritances with the biological children of the adopters. However, the practice of buying child was gradually stopped because of the disencouragement of the modern legal and educational system.

In addition, there were other ways of getting a child for physical adoption in the past; such as looting a child in the middle of headhunting or finding a child in the wild forest. In these cases, a reconciliation process had to be carried out first to release past enmity, or possible enmity between the adopted child's family and the adopter's family. By inviting the headmen in the village to drink and become a witness, the child officially inherited a given name and the clan name of the adopter's family. After which, the adoptee was regarded as the legitimated child of the family. Although the practice of physical adoption has already decreased, diversified ways of adopting children into the Saisiyat families reflect a common notion: the ancestral essence embedded in names plays a critical role in transforming outsiders to become insiders.

In lieu of the real physical adoption, practices of spiritual adoption are more popular among the Saisiyat nowadays. Different from physical adoption, the purpose of spiritual adoption is not to increase the human resources in the adopter's family, but to increase the growing essence of the adoptee. In the concept of the Saisiyat, if a child, whether it is a boy or a girl, is weak, unhealthy or not easy to take care of (such as those crying at midnight, or always refusing to eat, etc.), it means that such a child has been haunted by evil spirits (*habun*). This problem could be resolved by finding a family to adopt the child spiritually. It is believed that through giving a new name to the adopted child by a spiritual

adopter, the child will acquire stronger life forces to grow smoothly. To initiate the process, the adoptee's natal parents would first go to a spirit mediator, either a Han Chinese mediator or a Saisiyat mediator who practices the traditional divination called *runhap*.[19] The spirit mediator serves to communicate with ancestors and finds an appropriate adoptive family. To be more precise, an appropriate clan name is to be decided by ancestors, because the adoptive family must have a different clan name from the child's natal family. Normally, the child's mother's natal clan name is the one most favoured by the ancestors, because in real practice, the spirit mediator always asks the ancestors' approval, starting from the mother's clan name. Only if a negative answer has been given to the mother's clan name would other clan names be given. Until the mediator finally finds an appropriate clan name approved by the ancestors, the child's natal parents have to find a specific adopter (usually a married man) from the approved clan who is willing to take the child as a spiritual adoptee (*rangi'*). It is usually not very difficult for the Saisiyat to ask other families to grant a favour like this. A mother who has recently found an adopter for her son said, it is very unlikely that a Saisiyat family would refuse a request of adopting a child spiritually, because every family could have a similar problem and would need a favour from others.

The process of spiritual adoption is called *somo-rangi'* in Saisiyat. The child's natal parents have to make the first movement by taking the child to the adopter's house with some typical Saisiyat food-gifts to make an arrangement of spiritual adoption. The adopter's family then makes offerings of the received food to their clan ancestors and tell them about the forthcoming adoption. On the other hand, a very small amount of money (about 10 to 20 NT dollars placed in a red envelope nowadays, or some shell-beads in the past) is handed over to the child's natal family by the spiritual adopter, to signify the formality of the adoption and the acquired right to change the child's name. On the formal naming day, the adopter (spiritual adopting father) first carries some mountain spring water and *kati'azem* leaves to the child's natal house in the early morning. By practicing the

[19] *Runhap* is a traditional way to communicate with ancestors through holding a tiny bamboo stick and a glass or leaded bead. Very few women can still practice this divination nowadays.

traditional Saisiyat name giving ritual, the adopter gives an inherited personal name of his family to the adoptee by applying *kati'azem* leaves on the face of the adopted child. Before leaving the house, the adopter places a piece of thatch grass on the ceiling above the child's bed, which signifies that he builds a house for the child. In this sense, the child can stay and live with his natal parents on his own bed without moving to the adopter's house. Since the process of name giving in spiritual adoption is very simple and fast, many people nowadays practice this ritual before they go out to work in the morning.

By receiving a new name from the adopter's family, the child is believed to gain stronger growing essence from extra connections with ancestors of another clan. Though the adoptee does not physically move to the adopter's family, the spiritual adoptee has to bring food- gifts to attend ancestral ceremonies and other rituals held by the adopter's family. In other words, *somo- rangi'* (spiritual adoption) creates a very distinctive category of 'kinship' relations among the Saisiyat. The adoptee's and the adopter's family are associated by calling each other *rangi*. Thus, the adoptee with an inherited name from the adopter's clan becomes a mediator; he/she relates two families and develops interactions, which eventually forms a new network of social alliance.

However, in another sense, spiritual adoption also constructs an ambiguous status for the adopted child, since he/she has crossed boundaries of clan classification. Thus, the spiritual adoption could not be a permanent condition for a lifetime; the adoptee must return to his/ her natal family when he/ she has grown up, especially before getting married. Most boys nowadays return to their natal family before submitting themselves to the required two-year national military service when they reach the age of 18. The ritual of returning a spiritually adopted child is called *milubi-ka-rangi* (*milubi,* meaning 'return') in Saisiyat. This ritual is much larger in scale than the *somo- rangi'*. The adoptee's natal family must prepare abundant food-gifts and a great lunch feast to thank the adopter's family, kinsmen and clan ancestors. The day before the returning ritual, the adoptee would symbolically stay for one night in the adopter's house. The adopter would prepare a set of new clothes for the child to wear on the ritual day, which implies that the child is going to start a new life. In recent years, some adopters also give

gold rings, necklaces or watches as extra gifts. However, in the returning ritual, it is very important to speak to ancestors and clarify forthcoming changes to them. By doing so, both families will invite a male spokesman from their clans to proceed with *haehaeong* ('ritual dialogues'). In the ritual speech, the natal family has to express its gratitude (*hemaon*) formally by saying, '*Thank you very much. Now this child has grown up. After today, he/she is going back to the natal home, but he/she will always be your rangi*'. Then, through drinking rice wine together, the alliance between two families is once again strengthened. Only after finishing the *milubi-ka-rangi* ritual can the adoptee get married and reproduce a future generation to inherit names from the natal family.

It is apparent that through complex interplays of physical and spiritual adoptions, the ancestral power embedded in people's names could be conceptualised more vividly and subtly. Through giving and receiving an inherited ancestral name, a person is internalised by the name giving group and empowered with extra growing essence from ancestors in the name giving group. Moving in time and space, people's clan names and personal names serve as identification markers for individuals or social groups, as well as carriers of life essences from ancestors to individual bodies and clans. It is evident that the life essences and ancestral powers existing in names direct Saisiyat people's actions and intentions. Seen from this point of view, a Saisiyat not only possesses inherited names, but is also possessed by inherited names. It is for this reason that the Saisiyat make great efforts to give and keep, or to borrow and return their names. These names are original sources of power, status, and identity for overcoming loss and changes. In fact, the complicated relations between names, mystical power, human body, and ancestors are sophisticatedly anchored among the Saisiyat through the creation myth and ritual practices. In this way, the inherited names serve to make cross-boundary transformations and connections between the individuality and the collectivity of the Saisiyat, which are mediated like the bodily metamorphosis of the mythic ancestor (cf. Munn 1970:148).

In summation, this chapter has examined the people's names and their critical roles in classifying, identifying, and reproducing social relations among the Saisiyat. Inherited ancestral names, on the one hand, are symbolic elements to

form a generative schema to govern marriage, adoption, and other social principles among the Saisiyat. On the other hand, they are objective ancestral substances bonded with human bodies to impel sensations and actions that create dynamic relational nexus. Following these arguments, I would further explore various sources of ancestors' substances highlighted in the Saisiyat world.

Chapter 4
Recalling Spirits of the Past in Cyclical Ritual Performances

In the field of social studies, the significant role of rituals in human societies has long attracted considerable attention for interpretation. On the one hand, rituals are widely accepted to function as collective representations which express social realities and enhance social solidarity; thus, they constitute a public arena that reinforces existing orders and knowledge. On the other hand, rituals are also perceived as special kinds of practices that mediate a full range of actions to articulate people's necessities and intentions; thus, they serve to objectify and define the acting self. In considering the prominent and complicated ritual phenomena in contemporary Saisiyat, this chapter attempts to analyze rituals, both as collective representations and as practices, to satisfy people's needs, to formulate social orders, to reproduce cultural formalities, as well as to reconstruct patterned time-space relations by linking them to the symbolic past.

By doing so, I shall first study the consciousness and attitudes towards ritual practices among the Saisiyat. Second, I will examine general beliefs and religious changes in their community. Third, I will carefully analyze contemporary rituals which practice in two types of temporal cycles. Fourth, I will explore the associated power-relations and spatial-temporal orders reproduced in rituals. Finally, I will argue that transformative imageries and persistent substantial resources of the past are regenerated through cyclical ritual enactments. Thus, Saisiyat rituals not only represent conventional orders and relations in schematic model, but they also objectify the past by enforcing conformity in repetitive occurred ritual performances. In this given set of ritual practices, qualities and properties of anchored material or nonmaterial media are reproduced to construct a specific mode of spacetime. In short, ritual performances create a particular representational arena where the relations of objects and persons, events and structures are constantly renegotiated and adjusted to fit the demands of new situations (Munn 1986, Gell 1992, Hoskins 1993).

4-1. Ritual Practices and the Production of 'Saisiyat-ness'

In contrast to a highly adaptive approach of coping with external forces in daily political-economic affairs, the ritual activities of Saisiyat seem to express a more conventional approach of sustaining 'ancestral' traditions, in which many themes and symbols are continuously represented and reproduced. The interplay of two contrasting approaches in different types of collective actions creates an ambivalent image for the Saisiyat. From the perspectives of outsiders, the Saisiyat are frequently acknowledged as either a mixed group who adopts new cultural elements from outside swiftly or a conservative group who insists on ancestral ways. However, for the Saisiyat, rituals are prevailing but renewable ancestral traditions. Once a few concentrated ritual images and formalities are presented and produced, they can effectively connect to the ancestors and the past.

Nowadays, many different Saisiyat rituals are widely practiced in various contexts. When I first commenced to conduct fieldwork in Saisiyat villages, I was quite surprised by the 'weight' of ritual practices among the Saisiyat in terms of their frequency and extent. Many different Saisiyat rituals, either life-cycle rituals or annual rituals, have always been around. Saisiyat people in local villages spend a lot of time preparing rituals, attending rituals, and discussing the details of rituals. More than that, ritual expenditure also takes a very high percentage of Saisiyat family incomes. A typical Saisiyat family, who on the average attends more than one life-cycle ritual per week, will spend more than $1000 NT dollars as a gift every week. Aside from this, each family has to attend at least four or five annual rituals within a year; and needs to pay around $ 300 NT dollars to buy sticky-rice and pork each time. Furthermore, those families who act as ritual hosts usually have to spend more money in arranging and organizing.

In addition to devoting human labour and money in rituals, the Saisiyat also express serious attitudes and passionate emotions when attending rituals. Many Saisiyat informants mentioned earnestly in various occasions that one should never have doubtful or half-hearted thoughts about attending rituals. If someone is not sure whether he/she could attend a ritual (especially the *pas-taai*), one should not speak about it. They believe that when someone says he will come to the ritual but eventually does not come or hesitates to come, bad things will happen to him,

unless a small ritual is given to appease the spirits. In this sense, the enthusiastic images of the Saisiyat are part of the important messages conveyed in ritual practices.

There is no doubt that these frequent and elaborate practices play distinctive roles in their society. They assure the growth and continuation of personal lives through the dispersal and enhancement of life essence from *tatinii* to individuals; they also perpetuate Saisiyat social life by focusing on repeated formalized actions and prohibitions. From another perspective, we could say that the enactment of Saisiyat rituals represents special demands in constructing memories. Through complex ritual interactions, critical links between the living and the *tatinii* have been constructed and strengthened over and over again; dialectical relationships between Self and Others have been activated and reconciled, both of which play vital roles in the formation of Saisiyat social identities.

An interesting case study made by a Saisiyat graduate student, Ri Wanqi (from the *Tanohila* clan) reflects the attitudes towards ritual practices among people who believe they are Saisiyat. This investigation, made in 2002, was a study of the interrelations between individual psychological cognition and ethnic identity among members within a specific Saisiyat *sinayhou* group. Her research was focused on members of her own group who are descendents of Ri Akwai --the famous camphor war leader of the early 20th century. She asked a set of questions relating to personal consciousness and ethnic identity by interviewing 60 persons (35 men and 25 women) that have been selected from each household among her group.

Based on her research, the descendants of Ri Akwai showed an extremely strong tendency for hybridity and externalization relative to the other Saisiyat. She pointed out some background features such as: (1) all five sons of Ri Akwai were adopted sons – one from the Atayal indigenous group, three from the Hakka and one from the Hoklo Chinese groups; (2) from the following generations of Ri Akwai's adopted sons, most members of this group have married non-Saisiyat from other ethnic groups; (3) about 85% of the current group members do not live in the Saisiyat villages; (4) only about 20% can speak fluent Saisiyat, 70% can listen or speak very limited Saisiyat; while 40% speak Saisiyat when conversing

with family members.

Ri's research results provided some interesting statistical data referring to the sense of belongingness among her group members. These are: (1) 93% think they look similar to Han Chinese in appearance; (2) 90% think their lives have no big difference in comparison with the Han Chinese; (3) 85% define themselves as Saisiyat; (4) 80% agree that the Saisiyat is a minority group; (5) 60% think that the Saisiyat are inferior to Han Chinese; (6) 70% agree that Han Chinese have negative opinions towards the Saisiyat; (7) 90% think the Saisiyat culture is a very unique culture; (8) 70% participate in or practice Saisiyat rituals; (9) 70% would like to participate in Saisiyat affairs; and (10) 80% think it is important to preserve traditional Saisiyat customs (Ri 2003: 74-85).

It is therefore apparent that this group of the *Tanohila* clan has been through very strong external interactions in aspects of their blood origins, intermarriage relations, the locations to inhabit or the ability to speak the native language. However, the members of this group still commonly present a high enthusiasm to identify themselves as Saisiyat. One major influential factor seems related to that they keep coming back to Saisiyat villages to attend rituals a few times a year. By doing so, they explicitly express their preference for making connections with Saisiyat ancestors and traditional customs.

In general, these findings point to a fundamental question: why are the Saisiyat so enthusiastic about making rituals and attending rituals? Is it because the ritual system serves as a mechanism to balance conflicts and contested power relations within the group itself, which ultimately strengthens social solidarity, particularly in relation to outsiders? In his influential work *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Durkheim (1912) has argued that a distinction between "the sacred" and "the profane" is a basic classification for human societies. For him, rituals as public representations construct a sacred arena to derive collective consciousness and sustain social orders. Thus, ritual representations of sacredness are indispensable necessities for the society. It is the society that enforces its influences in social actions, and it is in social actions that the individuals who compose them are assembled together and act collectively. Thus, through being involved in a set of ritual practices, participants are bound together into a

collective (Durkheim 1912). However, in his very inspiring and influential theories of social bounds, Durkheim did not answer how a society pre-exists and enforces its influences in social actions.

Thus, from a more dynamic, diachronic, and bottom-up viewpoint, I would like to explore how a society is shaped and reshaped in a fast changing world through cyclically performing rituals. I attempt to highlight Saisiyat rituals as collective practices which are engaged in mnemonic transactions among individuals and passed on through generations. These ritual practices involve a deliberate effort to make people recall and reproduce certain past interactions by creating mental images and other sensory codes that could be transacted fluidly and dialectically between things and persons in ritual contexts. In this sense, as Munn (1995) has assumed in a study of Kaluli songs, Saisiyat rituals construct 'memory worlds' which render culturally informed experiential principles and enable memory-like experiences in the relational process of social life.

Based on this assumption, I will argue that the Saisiyat society is not a pre-existing entity which orders the assembly of individuals; but instead, through practicing and participating in rituals, it constitutes a negotiating process for individuals to formulate a flexible but stable collective domain in which the society can be continuously constructed and reconstructed. Thus, from an analytical perspective, we could say that Saisiyat rituals are collective activities which re-enact ancestral actions, reproduce social relations, and construct a sense of Saisiyat-ness. They transform many people with internal diversities and complexities into a local community, conscious of a shared past and destiny.

4-2. A Belief of '*Tatinii*'- Spirits of the Past

In general, all Saisiyat rituals or religious operations are based on a common belief that many different supernatural entities co-exist in the world. *Tatinii* is a generic term currently used to cover different spiritual beings in Saisiyat. In fact, *tatinii* encompasses multiple meanings and layered connotations, which cut across boundaries of different categories. In the context of daily conversations, *tatinii* is widely used to describe things that are old and passed down from the past, besides

which, it also involves a feeling of respectfulness. For example, *tatinii* in the sentence of '*maan tauan ma kin-tatinii-an*' is used to describe 'my house is very old'. Other than old objects, in daily conservations, older people who are over 60 years old or who are grandparents can also be addressed as *tatinii*.

In the ritual context, *tatinii* is a basic term used to address "ancestors"; but it is also popularly used to address other spirits mentioned in the Saisiyat myths, such as *taai* (the mythical dwarfs who were neighbours of Saisiyat ancestors), *waen* (the spirit of Lady Thunder from the heaven), *katetel* (the spirit of Lady Weaver from underwater), or *solo* (a mythical snake or dragon-like spirit from the wild). Even spirits later adapted from foreign religions are also referred as *tatinii*. For instance, either God or Jesus Christ in the Christian religion is called *tatinii kakawas*.[1] Moreover, other than abstract and invisible spirits, many sacred objects that represent supernatural beings in material forms are also addressed as *tatinii*, such as the sacred ancestral objects preserved by authorized clans (*kake'roan*) or the adopted Han Chinese ancestral tablets.[2]

In short, *tatinii* covers different things and persons derived from or related to the past. They are either in material forms or non-material forms; either living human beings or spiritual entities; either Saisiyat or non-Saisiyat. When it is used to address anthropomorphic subjects, two other generic terms--*baki* (literally means 'grandfather') and *koko* ('grandmother') are frequently used to substitute and differentiate the gender of subjects. For example, *koko waen* is used to address the spirit of Lady Thunder, while *baki solo* is used to address the spirit of the mythical snake/dragon spirit, etc. Borrowing an idea from a Saisiyat language teacher, I would suggest that 'spirit of the past' is a more vivid term to interpret *tatinii* in the ritual context, rather than 'ancestral spirit' in its narrower sense.[3] Nevertheless, the Saisiyat believe that *tatinii* possess strong powers that can penetrate, influence, and control the living Saisiyat. In one way, *tatinii* reward the

---

[1] Chinese gods and goddesses are usually called by their individual Chinese names, or in a generic term *shengming* (means 'god/goddess' in Chinese).

[2] More popularly, the Saisiyat use a Han Chinese term '*a-gong-po*' or '*gong-ma*' to address the Han Chinese style ancestral tablet; which also means 'grandfather and grandmother' literally.

[3] He translated this term into a Chinese term-- '*xian-ling*', which literally means 'former spirit' or 'past spirit'.

Saisiyat by bringing fertility, prosperity, and well-being. In another way, *tatinii* also punish the Saisiyat by bringing disasters, accidents, illnesses, and misfortunes. For these reasons, the Saisiyat must remember the *tatinii* and communicate with the *tatinii* by asking blessings and forgiveness. Thus, it is the deep moral values and expected destination directed to the spirits of the past that have led to the unquenchable desire for ritual practices. Through repetitively performing rituals, in both domestic scale and with the community, the Saisiyat keep cultivating linkages with the *tatinii* and acquiring life forces from the *tatinii*.

Because of outside influences, supernatural entities worshiped by the Saisiyat have been through several changes across different historical periods. According to an early investigation made by a Japanese researcher, most Saisiyat people were believers of animistic spiritual forces before the 20th century. These spiritual forces were called *habun* in Saisiyat. They believed that the living world was full of *habun*. Some *habun* had stronger powers and some had weaker powers; while some *habun* were good, some were bad. For example, people who died in a good way became good *habun* (*ima-kaiZa-habun*), while those who died in a bad way became bad *habun* (*ima-auhuai-habun*). Bad *habun* would occasionally show visible shapes and signs, or make noises to scare the living. Since all *habun* had powers to influence the living, the Saisiyat frequently practiced rituals to serve them (Kojima 1917: 27). It is apparent that the current concepts of *tatinii* are associated with previous ideas of *habun.*[4] But nowadays, terminological differences have become more sophisticated. Many Saisiyat informants told me that *tatinii* refer only to good supernatural beings which are similar to the Chinese concepts of ancestors, gods, and goddesses, while *habun* mean horrible and evil supernatural beings which are similar to the Chinese concepts of ghosts.

Since the second half of 19th century, elements from Han Chinese folk religion have been adopted by the Saisiyat and incorporated into the Saisiyat domestic life. Many Saisiyat families have placed Chinese ancestral tablets,

---

[4] The Saisiyat used to believe that *habun* live in a mythical world which co-exists with the living world. They were two sides of a world. When a person dies, he/she goes to live with his/her ancestors in the *habun* world. These two sides are similar but in reversed conditions. A popular Saisiyat story has described that a dog in the living world is a pig in the *habun* world, while a pig in the living world is a dog in the *habun* world.

statues, or portraits of gods and goddesses on a *Shengming* ('gods' in Chinese) table in the central hall of the house, and worshiped them in Han Chinese ways. In addition, shrines of the Chinese Earth God ('*tu-di-gong*' or '*bo-gong*' in Chinese) and temples of the Three Agricultural Gods ('*san-guan-da-di*' in Chinese) have also gradually been established in the Saisiyat villages following the invasion of and coexistence with the Hakka Chinese settlers. However, Chinese folk religion seemed to have become incorporated with the Saisiyat original ritual practices.

It was not until the period of Japanese occupation that external prohibitions of Saisiyat rituals increased. Many elderly informants recalled that Japanese policemen discouraged the Saisiyat from organizing ritual gatherings in large scales. As a result, the most elaborate ritual, *pas-taai* ('worship of *taai*'), which used to gather all Saisiyat in one locality, was divided and practiced in two sites. In addition, some informants claimed that the Japanese forbade them to practice the *pas-baki* ('worship of ancestors') and to worship their ancestral baskets (*bushi* in Saisiyat), because these were signs of superstition and savagery. This reason is popularly given to explain why many Saisiyat ritual groups lost their sacred ancestral baskets used in practicing *pas-baki*. In later years, the Japanese government also established a few Japanese *Shinto* temples in the Saisiyat villages, and some Saisiyat students and elites were encouraged to attend activities in the Japanese *Shinto* temples in order to show the progress of indigenous life. But, these transformations did not make dramatic changes in the practices of Saisiyat rituals.

In the 1960s, Western religion became dominant in the Saisiyat area. Many Saisiyat families were converted to Christianity in this period. Among the different Christian churches, the Catholic Church was the first established; later the Presbyterian Church, Society of Jesus, and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church also came in that order. Under the control of Christian ways, many Saisiyat traditional ritual practices were stopped. Many ritual objects were thrown away or lost in this period.[5] In an article written by Chen Chun-qing who did his

[5] Chen Chun-ching 1968:96-97.

ethnographic fieldwork at the Tonghe village in 1960s, he recorded that only one family had not converted to Christianity in the *Raromoan* settlement; most people had converted to Catholicism and regularly attended mass (Chen 1968). Thus, he stated with regret that Catholic or Christian religion, which are more dominant among the Saisiyat, would eventually replace the traditional Saisiyat beliefs and Saisiyat culture. He concluded that Christianity would play a pivotal role in the daily life as well as religious life of the Saisiyat in the future (Chen 1968).

But contrary to Chen's prediction, more and more Saisiyat have returned to the practice of indigenous rituals since the 1980s. In the beginning, many practiced various religious beliefs simultaneously, in which Saisiyat *tatinii*, Taoist gods and goddesses, Buddha, as well as Jesus Christ, and the Catholic God were juxtaposed together. A field researcher, Chang Ruei-gong, has recorded the phenomena of multiple religious operations juxtaposed in this period by stating that many Saisiyat again began practising or attending traditional rituals; at the same time, they also worshiped Han Chinese ancestral tablets and god statues, and many of them went to church on Sunday as well (Chang 1988:85).

In the recent 10 years, a trend towards the revival of indigenous rituals has been enthusiastically embraced by the Saisiyat as in other indigenous societies in Taiwan. But unlike other indigenous groups, many Saisiyat quickly gave up their belief in Christianity, especially Protestantism. Since Christianity has stricter regulations against worshiping indigenous supernatural entities, there has been a steady decline of Saisiyat who have kept going to churches since the 1990s. When I stayed at the Donghe and Penglai villages in 2001, I noticed that the Catholic churches in these two villages had already closed their doors; only a joint mass service was given in a church at the Nanzhuang town centre. Similarly, the Presbyterian Church of the Donghe village would have a mass service on a very irregular schedule because less than five people would come to church on an irregular base.

According to an investigation made by Chen Shu-ping in 1998, out of 320 households in the Nanzhuang area of South Saisiyat, 310 households were involved in practicing Saisiyat rituals, especially in the *pas-baki* ('worship of ancestors') and *pas-taai* ('worship of *taai*'); 300 households kept worshipping

Han Chinese style ancestral tablets at home; 200 households have attended activities in the shrines or temples of Han Chinese folk religions; while only 10 households identified themselves as Catholic believers; and 16 households identified themselves as Christian believers (Chen 1998:53). Facing these changes, a clergyman in the Nanzhuang church once said to me that he thinks the Saisiyat are weak believers of God and Jesus Christ in comparison to their Atayal neighbours, since the Atayal have kept their Christianity after conversion, even under the strong influence of returning to indigenous cultural movement. But most Saisiyat have gradually moved away from Christianity in the last decade.

The phenomena of swift religious changes among the Saisiyat raise two interesting questions: (1) what are the underlying forces that push the Saisiyat to adopt new religious elements, to revive 'traditional' rituals, or to return to the 'lost' rituals; and (2) how do the Saisiyat explain or make sense of these changes themselves. Many Saisiyat informants answered these questions with a common thread in relation to *tatinii*. Some people claimed that they had never cut off their relations with *tatinii* even during the periods of conversion to the other religions.

Many Saisiyat claimed that they converted to Christianity because they were eager to acquire flour, milk, butter, clothes, and other foreign goods that were given by churches. For this reason, they joked that Christianity was privately referred to as the 'Religion of Flour' in the past. During that period, since church people did not allow them to practice rituals to serve ancestors and indigenous spirits, they said they practiced Saisiyat rituals in a hidden way. For example, some claimed that they practiced *pas-baki* quietly at home and *pas-taai* on a smaller scale. Some claimed that they chose to convert to Catholicism because it has flexible regulations with regard to the practice of *pas-baki* and *pas-taai*.

But as to the fundamental issue of what the underlying forces are that make the Saisiyat gradually break their connections with Christian churches and revert to indigenous ritual practices, a connection with the *tatinii* is expressed more elaborately. A Saisiyat woman in her 60s, who was once an active church-goer, echoed popular thoughts of Saisiyat when she explained why she has chosen to leave the Catholic Church,

'When we converted to Christianity, many accidents and illnesses occurred

in our family; our life became very unstable. In various divinations and dreams, we were told that it was because we did not take good care of our *tatinii*, and did not serve our *tatinii* in proper ways. Thus, we started to use traditional ways to connect with and serve our *tatinii*. Since then, the situation has become much better.'

A man of the *Hayawan* clan who has built a Chinese style shrine in his house in 1993 to serve *baki solo*, a spirit which has a mythological tie with *Hayawan* clan, describes the process of his awakening as,

'I was an ordinary and ignorant worker in a small factory before, who did not have any knowledge of Saisiyat traditions and did not pay any attention to our inheritance. But for one year in the 1980s, I suddenly became very seriously ill and behaved very strangely. My family was so shocked and worried because I did not want to meet people, I always stayed in a dark corner, and I would curl my body on the ground. The doctors could do nothing to treat me. So, my family asked help from spirit mediums in several Han Chinese shrines and from the traditional Saisiyat bamboo diviners. They all gave similar answers by saying that our ancestors were looking for me. After we discussed with some elders our *tatinii*, we realized that *baki solo,* who is supposed to be taken care of by the *Hayawan* clan, was forgotten by us. He wanted to come out and to help the Saisiyat. By knowing the intention of *baki solo*, I immediately went to find the forgotten *tatinii* from a corner of my uncle's house. It was in a woven basket with bone ashes wrapped in a piece of animal skin. From then on, I started to take care of *baki solo* and worked for *baki solo*. Because *baki' solo* could help people when they get sick or have difficult problems, since then, more and more Saisiyat people have come to ask help from *baki solo*. Finally, we established a small shrine for *baki solo* in Toufeng where people can come to visit it regularly.'

In fact, the belief in practicing the rituals to keep their connections with *tatinii* not only pushes the Saisiyat to move away from Christianity, but is also the reason why very few people choose to go to church. When I talked to a man who has remained in the Christian faith, the reasons he gave were also related to their relations with *tatinii*. He believes that if he practices indigenous rituals, connections with the *tatinii* and the past would be activated and regenerated. This senior Saisiyat man from a Christian family told me a story of why his group members have all converted to Christianity and fixed their beliefs on God and Jesus Christ. He depicts,

'A long time ago, our *tatinii* had made serious mistakes when they practiced

headhunting. One was made by *taro a tahes* who killed a pregnant woman. The baby has reached full term in the woman's womb. *Taro* killed her and ended two lives. It was a terrible sin against ancestral laws. The other mistake was made by another *tatinii* when he practiced headhunting in *papushia*. He met a Hakka Chinese who was an adopted son of *Titijun* clan in the *lalai* settlement. This Hakka man told our *tatinii* loudly that he was also a Saisiyat who belonged to the *Titijun* clan, but our *tatinii* still killed him. It was also a serious sin. The blood from these sins splashed onto the shawls of our *tatinii*, which were carried back home passed on from generation to the next. In this way, every generation had continuously carried these sins. By that time, people died in our family almost every month. Our group was almost dying out. This terrible condition continued until one member in our group, *tara:o atau*, was converted to Christianity when he was sent to Hong Kong by the Japanese government during the War period. After *tara:o* came back to the village, he started to share the gospel with village people. Thus, all our group members converted to become Christians; we threw away the *tatinii* baskets and ancestral tablets. Since then, younger generations in our group have gradually increased. At one time, many other Saisiyat in the Nanzhuang area had also converted and came to the church with us. Now most of them have changed and stopped coming. But, we are not going to change. Because by accepting Jesus Christ, we don't need to carry those sins made by our *tatinii* in the past anymore.'

In these narratives, images of *tatinii* are projected vigorously and vividly. It has shown some special features of *tatinii* in the Saisiyat thoughts. First, *tatinii* control the most critical forces to make misfortunes and happiness for the living Saisiyat; thus, living Saisiyat have to please the *tatinii*. Second, the power of *tatinii* can be transmitted to the future generations through applying material objects, such as a shawl, onto the living person's body. And third, ritual practices are major paths to build tight connections with *tatinii*.

From an analytical approach, we could say that the proliferation and revitalization of indigenous rituals reflect their importance in Saisiyat social life. On the one hand, fundamental cultural ideas, social values, and cosmological orders of the Saisiyat are encoded in ritual practices and materials. On the other hand, messages that have been represented and transmitted to individuals in ritual experiences have later become resources for future actions. However, in the Saisiyat cosmology, it is the *tatinii* that have called them to keep practicing rituals. If they do not practice rituals to serve and connect with the *tatinii*, they will be punished by having a difficult and miserable life. If they have a smooth and good

life, it is due to the benevolence of *tatinii*. Hence, they have to show their gratitude and make efforts to return benevolence by performing correct rituals. Thus, on every occasion, Saisiyat elders keep reminding young people they should not forget *tatinii* and should not forget to '*minrubi ka hinarwan*' (literally means 'return gratitude') to *tatinii*. Returning gratitude to *tatinii* is regarded as one of the most important moral virtues of a Saisiyat.

For the above reasons, we can say that the belief of *tatinii* forms the core of Saisiyat religious thinking. In its broadest sense, *tatinii* encompasses the spirits of the past. Discourses of remembering *tatinii* and not forgetting *tatinii* are explicit and highlighted in idioms in ritual performances. For these reasons, I would suggest that, for the Saisiyat, ritual practice is more than reflection of the existing 'social facts' and mechanism to maintain social orders or functions, as claimed by Durkheim (1912[1965]), Malinowski (1948), or Radcliffe-Brown (1922). Also, it is more than just structuring symbols and expressing symbolic meanings as claimed by Turner (1974). In fact, Saisiyat rituals are involved in the dynamic articulation of social orders, cultural meanings, and contemporary intentions. They lay stress on making connections with spirits of the past in order to reshape meanings in the present. As claimed by Bourdieu ([1972]1977), ritual practices are processes in mental operations, which mediate individual realization of social values and orders through bodily engagements and interactions in the existing world. It is through doing, processing, and experiencing rituals that messages from the past are reified, regenerated, transformed, and integrated into the bodies and minds of Saisiyat.

4-3. Annual Cycle and Life Cycle Represented in Rituals

The many currently practiced Saisiyat rituals can be roughly divided into two categories due to their differences in temporal process of circulation and spatial extent of operation. One is the category of life-cycle rituals or rites of passage, which are more individual- and familial-oriented in following the developmental stages within a personal life-cycle. The other is the category of the annual cycle or calendrical cycle rituals, which are held regularly and associated with the seasonal changes. These rituals are also community rituals which congregate people in

broader spatial scale, either inter-settlements within the Saisiyat community or inter-households within a specific settlement. Below, I shall briefly analyze these two categories of Saisiyat rituals, and further examine the operational elements and representational themes that have been constructed through these rituals.

The category of life-cycle rituals now popularly practiced among the Saisiyat include: '*di-azem*' for naming a newborn baby; '*an-tomlai*' to propose a marriage; '*mantamag*' to fix an engagement; '*pap-siael*' to give a wedding feast. In addition, '*monsaesaip*', '*malas-ka-kokolin*', '*maSpazau*' and '*mazau*' are four different natal-home-visiting ceremonies which focus on the lifespan of a married woman after her wedding, after the birth of her first child, after her youngest child grows up, and after the death of her husband, respectively. Other important life-cycle rituals are: '*somu-rangi*' for spiritual adoption, '*minlubi-ka-rangi*' for returning of the spiritual adoption, and the Chinese style funeral rite '*chu-bin*'(literally means 'funeral ritual' in Mandarin Chinese)[6]. Among them, the *mantamago* (engagement), *pap-siael* (wedding feast), *maSpazau* (natal-home-visiting after the growth of all children), and *chu-bin* (funeral) are nowadays held in relatively larger scales with more transacted ritual objects and more participation of people (kinsmen, relatives, neighbours and friends).

As I have described in the previous chapter, most of Saisiyat life-cycle rituals emphasized making or strengthening alliances with another clan and on acquiring ancestral essences from another clan through the processes of marriages and adoptions. Thus, most practices are made to unite diversified essences carried by people with different ancestral inheritance. Married women or adoptive fathers are emphasized figures who hold fundamental powers to mediate and connect two

---

[6] *Chu-bin* is a Chinese term for funeral. There is no specific Saisiyat term to address funeral. Sometimes, people use a term *inoan babuloe'* (literally meaning 'thrown away') to imply funeral. This is due to the simplicity of Saisiyat funeral ritual for the dead people in the past. According to narratives of elders and historical documents, the dead body used to be buried immediately after the body was cleaned and wrapped in cloth. Only two kinsmen name would carry the body, throw it in a shallow grave, and bury it with a few personal things such as clothes, ornaments, pots, net bags, or weaving tools, etc. The grave, called *kinorol* in Saisiyat (literally meaning 'trace of a grave'), was small and roughly marked with a few stones (See Kojima 1917: 75-76). Current Saisiyat *chu-bin* is obviously borrowed from the Chinese death ritual. It has become a major ritual to gather people now. The ritual process is usually performed either in Hakka Chinese style or in Christian style.

clans, not only in the social domain but also in the spiritual domain.[7]

Another category of annual-cycle or calendrical rituals consist of a series of community rituals that are carried out regularly following the occurrence of seasons. In the past, they were held by focusing on the growth of main crops (i.e., sowing, harvesting), community activities such as blocking away epidemic diseases, or headhunting. Although crop agriculture had already lost its importance for over 50 years, the process of reproduction of ancestral essences and formation of a collective Saisiyat are still the basic concerns of these rituals.

Currently, a series of community rituals are regularly practiced in an annual cycle. These are:

(1) *pas-baki* ('worship of ancestors or grandfather') – a ceremony practiced twice a year for worshiping clan ancestors by each *pas-baki* ritual group ('*aehae pas-baki-an*'), which mainly consists of people with the same *sinayhou* names inhabiting in the same settlement. The first *pas-baki* is held in the late spring around early June; while the second one is held in the late fall, around mid-December.[8]

(2) *pas-taai* ('worship of *taai*') – is the most expressive Saisiyat ritual with the largest scale and the most spectacular ceremony for worshiping *taai* (the mythic dwarf-spirits) which is practiced in the late fall once every two years by congregating all Saisiyat in two ritual sites – one in the *Raromoan* settlement in the South, and another one in the *Saiyahoru* settlement in the North Saisiyat.[9]

(3) *a'uwal kakawas* ('praying to heaven') – is a ceremony held once a year

---

[7] According to records from the Japanese period, in the past, a birth ritual was popularly practiced after the birth of a newborn baby by sending message and representative objects to the house of the baby's mother. In addition, ways of body decoration, such as ear-piercing, teeth-removing, and facial tattooing were also widely practiced as initiation rites for young people (Kojima 917, Yoshino 1940).

[8] In the past, the first *pas-baki* was held after the planting of rice, and the second one was held after harvesting and storing the dry rice. Some informants say that there were natural signs to remind them of these two important timing. For the first *pas-baki*, it was held in the late spring, when the wild chestnut flowers blossomed; while for the second *pas-baki*, it was held in the late fall, when the silver-grass blossomed.

[9] According to the elderly informants, *pas-taai* used to be held once a year with the gathering of all the Saisiyat from every settlement in one ritual site in the past. Later on, it was performed once every two years and in two separate ritual sites due to the strict regulations against it during the Japanese colonial period in the 1930s.

in spring, around early April to ask for good weather and good health by worshiping *koko waen* (the mythic Lady Thunder and Lightning). Nowadays, *a'uwal* is in a smaller scale which congregates fewer participants in the year of the *pas-taai* performance, while it is practiced in a larger scale in a year which is not going to performance *pas-taai*.

(4) *tinato* (or *tinato-ketetel*)– literally '*tinato*' means a magic fire-making tool once used in the headhunting ritual, while '*ketetel*' is a mythical woman who came from underwater and married a Saisiyat man. This ritual is regarded as a ceremony for worshiping fire and water spirits and is held once a year, in the early spring.

(5) *baki solo* ('grandfather *solo*')-- *solo* is a snake-dragon-like animal in Saisiyat myth. This ritual is now popularly translated as the 'sacred-dragon ceremony' in Chinese by the Saisiyat, and is held once a year, in mid-spring.

(6) *baki boon* ('grandfather *boon*')-- *boon* is a Saisiyat man who appeared as the last person surviving through the floods in the Saisiyat created myth. This ritual is also translated as the 'magic-healer ceremony' by the Saisiyat, and is held once a year, in the early spring.

(7) *pit'aza* ('circulating a ritual officiator') – is a sowing ritual which is held once a year in late April.

(8) *pasang kinorol*[10] – is an 'ancestral-tomb-sweeping ceremony' introduced to Saisiyat by the Japanese colonial government and is held once a year in early April, at the Chinese Qing-ming Festival.

---

[10] *Pasang kinorol* is a combined term, which literally means 'eat in village graveyard' in Saisiyat. In the olden days, Saisiyat usually buried the dead outside the village in a wild land immediately after someone dies. They had no village graveyard. The family of the deceased usually offered small amounts of food to the dead on the first day of burial; but they did not visit grave after they buried the dead. During the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese regarded this behaviour as savage and uncivilized. In the 1920s, a new modern life style was introduced to indigenous villages by the Japanese policemen who asked each village to build a public cemetery where villagers should bury their dead relatives. In the Qing-ming festival, which is known as the 'Remembrance of Ancestors Day' for Chinese and Japanese, people were asked to go to the village cemetery to pull weeds and sweep on their ancestors' tomb. Currently, during the day of *pasang kinorol*, representatives of each household in a village would assemble and go to the graveyard together to sweep the tombs and to offer foods to their ancestors. After sweeping the tombs, all villagers would congregate at the riverbank near the village to feast on the offerings.

(9) *bai-bai*[11] (literally meaning 'worship' in Mandarin Chinese) – is an adopted Chinese style of ancestral and god/goddess worship, which is practiced by each household in the domestic altar at home and at the local Chinese temple four times a year. Usually, it is practiced following the Chinese New Year's Eve, the Dragon Boat Festival, the *Zhong-yuan* Ghost Festival, and the Moon Festival.

Figure 11. Major Rituals Practiced in the Current Saisiyat Society

Life-cycle Rituals	Occasions	Annual- cycle Rituals	Occasion and Frequency
di-azem	naming a new born baby	*pas-baki*	Worship of ancestral-spirit (twice a year)
an-tomlai (katin balai')	making a marriage proposal	*pas-taai*	worship of *taai* spirit (once every two years)
Mantamago	Engagement ('exchanging tobacco')	*a'uwal*	worship of heaven (once a year)
pap- si'ael	wedding feat day	*tinato/ ketetel*	worship of fire/ water-spirits (once a year)
monsaesai'p	natal-home-visiting after wedding	*baki solo*	worship of magic-dragon (once a year)
Malas-ka-kokolin	natal-home-visiting after the birth of first child	*baki boon*	worship of magic-healer (once a year)
MaSpazau	natal-home-visiting when the children are already grown-ups	*pit-aza*	sowing ceremony (once a year)
Mazau	natal-home-visiting after the death of the married partner	*pasang kinorol*	ancestral-tomb-sweeping ceremony (once a year)
somu-ran'ngi	spiritual child adoption	*bai-bai*	Chinese-styled worships (four times a year)
minlubi-ka-ran'ngi	returning of spiritual adopted child		
chu-bin	funerary ritual		

In contrast to the life-cycle rituals, which stress the revitalization of personal growth and familial alliances, the Saisiyat's annual and community rituals stress the construction of collective identity and the integration of the community. At various levels, these rituals are all performed under the conceptual framework of *sinayhou*. For example, *pas-taai* aims to congregate all members of all *sinayhou* groups in the Saisiyat; *a'uwarl*, *tinato*, *baki solo*, and *baki boon* etc. are focused on gathering representatives and elders of all *sinayhou* groups in the Saisiyat;

[11] *Bai-bai* is a borrowed term. It is usually practiced inside the house by family members using the Chinese ancestral tablet on the Chinese god table, or in a nearby Chinese temple by a representative of the family. The Saisiyat regard this worship as focusing on the *tatinii* who were close family members and passed away not very long ago.

pas-baki aims to congregate all members of each identical *sinayhou* group within the smaller territorial unit; and *bai-bai* is operated essentially by members within a household, the smallest unit of the *sinayhou* group.

Different from other Saisiyat annual rituals, *pit-aza* and *pasang kinorol*, which assemble all households within the boundary of a settlement, are more territorially oriented than kinship oriented. Somehow, these territorially oriented rituals are much less popular and expressive in the contemporary Saisiyat ritual system. For instance, *pit-aza* ('sowing ceremony') is only performed in one or two settlements among over 30 Saisiyat settlements. Most settlements and villages had gradually stopped practicing this ritual since the declination of agriculture.[12] As to the *pasang kinorol* ('ancestral-tomb-sweeping ceremony'), it is regularly practiced in all Saisiyat settlements, but was initially enforced by the external institutions, such as police stations and schools, during colonial encounters.

Regardless of the different notions and actions in the current practice of these rituals, they all convey essential messages related to fertility and alliances through the reproduction of the relationship between the living and the *tatinii*, between the Self and Others. For the Saisiyat, all ritual performances and actions are addressed as *kaspongan*. *Kaspongan* is a generic term which refers to ideas, skills, customs, taboos, actions, principles, orders, and knowledge that have been passed down from the *tatinii*. Since *kaspongan* is regarded as the most precious wisdom and intellectual heritage, the Saisiyat tend to pay great respect to *kaspongan* and make efforts to practice *kaspongan* consistently. Especially for those *kaspongan* related to ritual practices, they are more anxiously guarded and consciously transmitted. This primary concern is reflected in public speeches and ritual talks all the time. Even in contemporary popular songs and language textbooks of the Saisiyat, the words like: 'do not forget *tatinii*, do not forget *kaspongan*' (*ini ngowip ka tatinii, ini ngowip kaspongan*) are recited again and again.

In ritual contexts, *kaspongan* are regarded as unforgettable ancestral laws by the Saisiyat. For those who violate *kaspongan, tatinii* will punish them by sending

---

[12] It is regularly practiced in the settlement of *Raromoan*, and occasionally in the settlement of Dongjiang in the South Saisiyat

misfortune, illness and dangerous accidents. In the most extreme cases, one could be 'caught' by the *taai* if he/ she violates '*kaspongan*' in the *pas-taai* period. The Saisiyat believe that the violators' bodies will be controlled or deformed by the *taai*; in some horrible stories, violator's head would be twisted toward their backs. Narratives of being caught by *taai* are very widely spread among the Saisiyat. Many Saisiyat adults claim that they have seen people 'caught' by the *taai* with their own eyes. From their vivid stories, the Saisiyat youngsters are warned with strong emotions not to violate *kaspongan* in ritual contexts, especially in the *pas-taai* period. If, unfortunately, someone actually violates *kaspongan* in the *pas-taai*, he/she has to reconcile and ask forgiveness by making a small ritual of *hemaon* to commit his /her mistakes and offer *sinsinnamul* as payment to the ritual *sapan* (the *Titijun clan*). [13] Similar practices of asking forgiveness and reconciliation are only made in the *past-taai*, but also made in some other annual rituals. In this aspect, the Saisiyat are anxious about committing a mistake and being punished, and the desire to ask forgiveness and to reconcile is repeatedly represented in the cyclically practiced ritual performances.

All Saisiyat rituals, either annual-cycle or life-cycle rituals, are regularly practiced in order to connect with the *tatinii*, to objectify the memories of the past, and hence are anchored in activities across different periods. In general, most Saisiyat annual-cycle rituals relive the past by recognizing the continuity of the community's identity, while life-cycle rituals move across the boundaries of social groups to regenerate social orders and social alliances that define an individual's life. They are practiced cyclically to recall the past, reflect on the past, and re-enact the past. They dynamically create a context that people can continuously reconstitute previous relations and simultaneously react to contemporary disruptions (cf. Hoskins 1993). By doing so, the interwoven ritual experiences have an effect of defying historical changes, and of making the "past" and "present" co-exist in the contemporary world. In each ritual practice, the *tatinii* once again is being the contemporaries of the living Saisiyat no matter how the

---

[13] In this simple ritual process, the violator has to give the *sapan* a bottle of rice wine and a very small amount of money (10 NT dollars nowadays, or a few shell-beads in the past); then a male member in the *sapan* would tie a piece of evil-protective grass (Chinese silver-grass) on the violator's arm or on a part of his/her body.

world has moved on and become different.

4-4. Specialized and Distributed Ritual Powers in a Parallel Society

If we conceive of a society as a network of related individuals, then a ritual system can be considered as a powerful social relation-generating system. From this point of view, all Saisiyat ritual actions reflect and enhance social relations based on the framework of *sinayhou* classifications. Through ritual practices, the divergent powers of *sinayhou* groups have been repeatedly objectified. In the aspect of intra-*sinayhou* interactions, a hierarchical structure has been manifested. In the aspect of inter-*sinayhou* interactions, a web of distributed ritual powers has been formulated. Actions based on these two underlying principles are interwoven to form the fundamental networks in Saisiyat ritual actions and social practices.

In general, all Saisiyat rituals are operated depending on the classifications and entanglements of different layered and levelled *sinayhou* groups. In superior hierarchy, the Saisiyat community is classified into 14 patriclans (*aehae sinayhou*) who are people with the same clan name.[14] Each *aehae sinayhou*, is further divided into several *aehae pas-baki'an* (the ancestral-spirit ceremonial acting group) who are people with the same clan names and live in the same settlement. Larger *aehae sinayhou* may constitute quite a few *aehae pas-baki'an*. Members in the same *aehae pas-baki'an* are close kinsmen as well as neighbours. They cooperate frequently in daily affairs, such as working, playing, dealing with problems, or sharing meals. Thus, *aehae pas-baki'an* is sometimes referred as '*aehae si'ael*' (literally meaning 'people who eat together'). They also form the most basic and active unit in organizing and practicing a ritual; they regularly assemble twice a year to practice the *pas-baki* (ancestral-spirit ceremony); they provide the most reliable human labours for preparing life-cycle rituals and other

[14] In an investigation made in the 1910s, all Saisiyat clans were grouped into eight *mamajax* groups. Each *mamajax* group consisted of several clans of different sizes. Different clans within the same *mamajax* were regarded as brother clans which had close ancestral relations in the past; thus, they were also in the range of exogamy. Nowadays, the term *manajaxa* is not popularly used. Though people still remember the brotherhood of these clans, marriage prohibition between associated clans in the *manajaxa* is not very strictly practiced at all times. Some elders explain that this kind of taboo may be broken by making a ritual to reconcile with *tatinii* before marriage.

annual-cycle rituals.

According to a rough estimation, there are about 40 *aehae pas-baki'an* operating in contemporary Saisiyat. [15] However, the numbers of *aehae pas-baki'an* are not fixed. When a group of members relocate to another settlement, a new *aehae pas-baki'an* could be established there after they have settled down. In some special cases, people also establish their own *aehae pas-baki'an* when they are expelled from their original *aehae pas-baki'an*, either because they had seriously violated ancestral laws or because they were adopted sons who were not accepted by the original ritual group members. Depending on their size and relationship, some *aehae pas-baki'an* could be further divided into several *aehae ga'amaan* ('one of my people'), and some *aehae ga'amaan* could be divided into few *aehae baki* ('one grandfather') which indicate more intimate relations between their members. The hierarchical structures of *sinayhou* are tied up with the complex ritual operations and further strengthened in the people's mind. Being repetitively reified and regenerated through ritual practices, the hierarchical *sinayhou* structures that interplay with and prevails over the other social structures, such as the territorial settlements, has constituted the basic thematic ritual idiom among the Saisiyat.

However, in contrast to the hierarchical intra-*sinayhou* structures, the inter-*sinayhou* relations are based on a principle of parallel equilibrium. It shows that each Saisiyat *sinayhou* group plays an equal role and stands in a parallel status to interact with other *sinayhou* groups. This tendency is overtly and repetitively expressed through performing different types rituals. Especially in annual and community rituals, ritual powers are often diversified, specialized and distributed into different *sinayhou* groups. Moreover, the distributed ritual powers are clearly objectified and legitimized through inherited rights and knowledge to keep, touch or make material symbols in many annual rituals; thus, through the cultivation of secrecy and mystery.

---

[15] There are 29 *aehae pas-baki'an* in the South Saisiyat (Chen 1998:49), around 11 are in the North Saisiyat. Now the *Babai sinayhou* has six *aehae pas-baki'an*; the *Taotaowazzai sinayhou* has five *aehae pas-baki'an*; the *Titijuni sinayhou* has five *aehae pas-baki'an*; the *Tanohila* sinayhou has three *aehae pas-baki'an*....etc.

Since a Saisiyat *sinayhou* group is defined along a hereditary line of male members, a capable clan elder would be chosen as the head officiator (*aza*) to direct ritual actions.[16] This head officiator occupies on a highlighted ritual position and possesses a centralized ritual power in the ritual actions. Many Saisiyat describe that the head officiator is eventually chosen by *tatinii* in the *sapan* clan. To be selected as the ritual officiator, one must express the initiative and ability to take care of the *tatinii*. If there is more than one person in the authorized *sinayhou* who shows willingness to be the ritual officiator, the opinion of *tatinii* would be asked to decide which one the *tatinii* would like to stay with.

Although the head officiator is considered to have a key role in initiating, processing, and coordinating the ritual, specialized ritual power is basically transferred within the collective body of a *sinayhou* group rather than to the individual. Thus, a term *sapan* is popularly used to refer to all members who have the same *sinayhou* name as the head officiator. In ritual contexts, it is very important to define who the *sapan* is. The *sapan* is like a collective of officiators who share responsibilities and rights to make the ritual progress smoothly and successfully.

In contrast to the *sapan*, the other Saisiyat who have *sinayhou* names different from that of the *sapan* are defined as *a'uma* (literally meaning 'others'). Usually, *a'uma* play complementary roles in ritual practices and are seriously restricted not to touch the ritual secrecy. These oppositions have shaped a distinctive form in operating rituals and specializing *sinayhou* groups among the Saisiyat. They suggest that ritual rights and responsibilities are inherited by the whole ritual host of *sinayhou* group.

The distributed ritual powers are mainly tied-up with the annual ritual complexities, which construct a special character in the Saisiyat ritual system.

---

[16] There are two ways of assigning a ritual officiator in annual rituals. For most rituals, a ritual officiator is chosen from the legitimate *sinayhou* which holds its hereditary power from the mythological ties, such as those in the *pas-taai*, *a'uwal*, *tinato*, *baki' solo*, and *baki' boon* etc. However, another much less popular way to appoint a ritual officiator, without considering the hereditary line, is to employ an election in a territorial unit, such as *pit-aza* ('sowing ceremony') and *pasang kinonol* ('sweeping-ancestral-tomb'). In comparison, the latter way is more emphasized on the equal status of each *sinayhou* group within a village, rather than on the distributed hereditary powers of each clan in the Saisiyat.

Many *sinayhou* groups are specialized in holding distinctive inherited rights and privileges over hosting a specific ritual. For instance, *Titijun* holds the hereditary power of officiating the *pas-taai*; *Sawan* is the inherited *sapan* of the *a'uwal*; *Tawtaowazai* is associated with the *tinato*, *Hayawan* is the *sapan* of the *baki solo*; and *Babai* is associated with the *baki boon*, etc.

In addition to the major divisions of ritual hosts, there are other subsidiary divisions of specific ritual 'works'. For example, in the most complicated *pas-taai* ritual processes, two male elders of the *sapan* inherit rights to play different leading roles; one is the *kap-aza'an ka Titijun* ('the head officiator in the *Titijun*') who oversees the integrative progress of *pas-taai* and serves as the legitimated medium of communication between the Saisiyat and the *taai*; the other is the *malaehaen ka tatinii* ('keeper of ancestor's things') who takes the responsibilities of communicating with clan ancestors and preserve the sacred ancestral object.

Among the *a'uma* clans in the *pas-taai*, the *Babai* clan act as the *malanhan ka labe* ('keeper of the ritual site'), who play a leading role in monitoring actions of the *sapan*. However, other *a'uma* clans are specialized in more complicated and sophisticated ritual works. For instance, the *Tawtawwazai* & *Tatai'si* are the *sinadun sa'pan,* who take turns to make and carry the *sinadun* flag ('the 10th-year flag') in the South Saisiyat; while the *Saina'se* is privileged to assist in holding the flag. The *Hayawan* acts as the *sinadun sapan,* who has the right to make and carry the *sinadun* flag in the North Saisiyat; while the *Bubutol* and *Minrakes* are privileged to assist on holding the flag.[17] Similar divisions also appear in the *a'uwal*. Though the *Sawan* hosts the *a'uwal*, the *Minrakes* plays the indispensable role of announcing the commencement of ritual to the *sa'pan*, and the *Babi* plays a critical role of overseeing the process of presenting offerings to *tatinii*.

From the following table, we can see that nine *sinayhou* groups out of the existing 14 Saisiyat *sinayhou* are associated with some specialized ritual powers. Although these ritual powers are not divided evenly in terms of scales, skills, and involved human labour, all of them are basically considered as irreplaceable forces in ensuring the success of rituals because they are legitimised and

---

[17] See detailed descriptions in Cheng 1987.

authenticated by related Saisiyat myths. In this regard, we can say that the hereditary ritual powers enacted in annual community rituals are divided and distributed to different clans, which create a practical arena to integrate social groups among the Saisiyat.

Figure 12. Division of Ritual Powers among Saisiyat *sinayhou* Groups

Names of Rituals	***Sapan*** **(ritual hosting clan)**	***A'uma*** **(other clans)**
Pas- taai (worship of *taai*)	*Titijun*	*Babai* – monitors the actions of the *Sapan* and oversees the ritual site in the South Saisiyat
		Tawtawwazai & *Tatai'si* – take turns to make and carry the *sinnadun* flag (tenth-year flag) in the South Saisiyat
		Hayawan – make and carry the *sinnadun* flag (tenth-year flag) in the North Saisiyat
		Saina'ase – assist in holding the *sinnadun* flag (tenth-year flag) in the South Saisiyat
		Bubutol & *Minrakes* – assist in holding the *sinnadun* flag (10th-year flag) in the North Saisiyat
a'uwal (worship of heaven)	*Sawan*	*Minrakes* -- initiate the commencement of ritual *Babi* – oversee the process of making offerings
Tinato (worship of fire-spirit)	*Tawtaowazai*	
baki'solo (worship of sacred-dragon)	*Hayawan*	
baki'boon (worship of magic healer)	*Babai*	
Baki biwa / koko biwa (worship of thunder spirit)	*Saina'ase*	

In fact, the motivation of approaching balance on making differentiations has been greatly emphasized in Saisiyat ritual contexts. Many Saisiyat believe that in the olden days, every Saisiyat clan had its own hereditary power in officiating one particular ritual. But unfortunately, some clans have lost their special ritual powers because they have stopped the ritual practices and lost the ritual symbols. For instance, the *Tanohila* were believed to officiate in a ritual associated with the sun in the past and in a widely spread myth which depicts that a young *Tanohila* was sent to shoot one of two suns in the sky is the evidence of this mythological ties. In this story, a sun was injured by the *Tanohila* young man and became the moon since it lost its radiant rays. This case reflects two basic ideas how the Saisiyat view their community rituals. First, they tend to think that each group should have their specialized ritual power. Second, the ritual host should guard ritual object

and keep ritual practices to enliven inherited ritual powers.

Many anthropological studies have given examples to show that ritual specialisations are usually associated with an ideology of ranked society which usually ends up in uneven distribution of powers (Young 1971, Harrison 1990). However, in the case of Saisiyat, ritual specialisations do not relate directly to hierarchical ceremonial ranks. Instead, it is the distinctiveness of each *sinayhou* and the collaboration of different *sinayhou* that has been centred as the most critical messages in ritual specialisations. Actually, rank and inequalities are very rarely expressed on matters outside of kinship and intra-*sinayhou* domains in the Saisiyat social life. Hereditary powers are seldom used as important political and economic resources. Most ritual officiators and leaders have no privileged status in everyday activities. Once the ritual is completed, the ritual officiator or leader would go back to work as a farmer, a timber worker, or a factory labourer, and that is the same for the others. It is very common to see an elder who acts as a head officiator but would work as an hourly-paid labourer in the field right after the ritual is over. From a Saisiyat perspective, for both men and women, political or economic resources basically have to be acquired based on individual talent, capability, and life forces accumulated in the body, which cannot be achieved through inherited ceremonial powers. Thus, ranks and inequalities are not highlighted values to be presented and transmitted among the Saisiyat. Ritual specialisations and power distributions are essentially associated with ideologies of *sinayhou* classification, identification, and parallel collaboration. It is the concept of equal distribution and collaborative integration between different *sinayhou* groups that has been overtly and profoundly expressed and recognized through ritual practices and participations.

From this point of view, practicing rituals has directed to the production and distribution of ritual powers corresponding to the structure of *sinayhou* classification. The Saisiyat conceive of the uneven division of ritual labours among different *sinayhou* groups as exercising special services and rendering exchanges to other *sinayhou.* Paradoxically, the inequalities generated from ritual heredity and specialization are based on the logic of 'balanced' exchange between different *sinayhou* groups in terms of self (the *sapan*) and others (the *a'uma*), as

well as between the living and the *tatinii* at a deeper level.

Since the essential reproductive powers are mainly held in the hands of *tatinii*, the most important exchange is made between the Saisiyat and the *tatinii*. All ritual performances are made to express this desire and to achieve this purpose. However, exchanges between the living Saisiyat and *tatinii* require the construction of a collective force, and it is through ritual practices that this collective force is repeatedly created by congregating individuals through layered *sinayhou* structures. In this way, the divergent *sinayhou* clans with specialized ritual powers eventually constitute a special form of parallel society. This explains why the hierarchical specialization developed in the community ritual does not extend to specialized political and economic privileges among the Saisiyat, but constructs solid bases for collective identity and solidarity.

A Taiwanese anthropologist, Huang Ying-kuei, has compared Austronesian societies in Taiwan and noticed that the Saisiyat presents a unique case of dual ideologies on egalitarianism and hierarchical heredity (Huang 1986:19).[18] Different from other Taiwanese indigenous societies, the Saisiyat favour a system with dialectical interplays between 'secular equality' and 'ritual inequality'. On the one hand, hereditary inequalities form a central idiom in the operation of community rituals. Specific *sinayhou* groups control particular rituals by withholding hereditary ritual services, knowledge, skills, and regalia. On the other hand, each *sinayhou* group is considered as an autonomous polity, which exchanges, collaborates, and competes with each other to maintain egalitarian relations in the political-economic regime. From the above analysis, I would argue that the hereditary inequalities expressed in the Saisiyat ritual system are fundamentally based on collaborative interdependences and reciprocities among *sinayhou* clans. As prestigious resources for the reproduction of the social system, Saisiyat rituals offer a powerful instrumentality to shape a society through intra-clan and inter-clan interactions. Thus, the ambivalence of 'secular equality'

---

[18] In general, he divides indigenous societies in Taiwan into two types: Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Tsou and Amis, those who are in the southern and eastern Taiwan are categorized to be more power-centralized and hierarchical; while Atayal, Bunun, and Yami are categorized to be more power-diffused and equalitarian. But, the Saisiyat is the ambiguous one standing in between, which cannot be categorized into any of the two types.

and 'ritual inequality' has to cope with a problem of keeping the social orders and in making social transmission against the historical changes for a marginal society like Saisiyat.

Earlier works which study on the differences of social types have emphasized the dichotomized divisions between 'cold' and 'hot', 'structure' and 'history', 'static' and 'dynamic' oppositions (cf. Levi-Strauss 1966:233-4; Harrison 1990:73). According to their interpretations, a society based on a totematic-style classificatory structure is usually regarded as a cold and static society which is relatively slow to change. But these two opposite sets of features are dynamically mediated in the society of Saisiyat to construct an actively integrated community. Though emphasizing on totematic-style social classifications, the Saisiyat is definitely not a static society that resists change; on the contrary, it expresses great capabilities to adopt new political and economic resources and appropriate foreign elements from Han Chinese, Japanese, or Western cultures. On the other hand, through ritual practices, social structures, cosmological conceptions and temporal relations have been actively and flexibly reified and actualized.

Since diversities and conflicts obviously permeate Saisiyat everyday life experiences, things like disputes over business or work opportunities, internal competitions over local elections, jealousy about the others' wealth and material resources happen over and over again. But all these conflicts, disputes, or hatred are repetitively reconciled in the public arena of the institutionalized ritual system through physical actions. For these reasons, releasing and reconciling conflicts and disputes have been elaborately manifested in ritual performances. Many indispensable ritual processes are required to express reconciliation between different *sinayhou* groups, between the Saisiyat and other ethnic groups, as well as between the Saisiyat and *tatinii*.[19] The conflicts and contradictions are going on and on with the changing world, while the same patterns of making reconciliation are consistently and repeatedly reproduced through ritual actions. As a major symbolic system among the Saisiyat, the ritual system continuously signifies the

---

[19] *Hemaon* and *sinsinamoel* is practiced in the beginning of major community rituals to admit one's mistakes and to ask forgiveness from the *tatinii* by offering small amounts of money and wine to the *sapan*. *Sasi'os* is irregularly practiced to remove hatred between different clans or ethnic groups by sacrificing a pig or a chicken to the *tatinii*.

normative concept of Self and Others, as well as of the living Saisiyat and the *tatinii*. Furthermore, the distinctive formal and substantial characters repeatedly reproduced in the ritual performances have provided fluid and stable pathways to link to the past, from which a timeless and transcendent world are projected alternatively.

4-5. Spatial-Temporal Relations in Ritual Transmissions

The above discussions show that Saisiyat rituals stress the construction of reproductive capability by recalling and serving the *tatinii* through ritual practices, which consequently creates a perceived and shared past among the living. Although these rituals aim to represent a stable and unchanging past, they are not static and immovable phenomena in the practical context. As public and expressive spectacles, Saisiyat rituals have kept transforming and responding to political-economical changes across different historical encounters. Practicing rituals is not merely relevant with the construction of social relations synchronically, but is also critical for articulating and integrating divergent temporalities. If we take an examination from a longer time-span, it apparently shows that ritual functions, forms and symbolic meanings have been changed over time. Not only visible elements or factors have been converted, but also some invisible concepts and messages have been gradually modified.

But by means of memory manipulation or selective concentration, many discontinuities and changes in rituals are consciously or unconsciously neglected by the Saisiyat. Most people perceive their rituals as the most precious traditions and sacred *kasbongan* ('ancestral knowledge and practices') transmitted from ancestors. In fact, for the Saisiyat, these rituals do not attempt to duplicate the exact full range of actions of the past. Instead, they are focused on reproducing the relative associations and periodical sequences of the past (cf. Gell 1992). It is based on these relative 'relatedness' and sequences generated from ritual practices that the Saisiyat have been and still are constructed as a unified community that continuously perceive themselves to share the same past.

Several recent writers have called our attention to indigenous temporality and

the notion of the past (Bloch 1977, Fabian 1983, Gell 1992, Hoskins 1993). According to them, ritualized past is implicitly mediated of various dialectical temporal factors, such as the externalized time and internalized time, or the ritual time and mundane time. By considering the dynamic temporal mediation in Saisiyat rituals, I will analyze key factors of ritual performances from records of Saisiyat annual-cycle rituals in different periods.[20] These include materials of Kojima (1917) and Sayama (1921), which were used to depict a period around the 1910s-1920s; the records of Chen (1968), Cheng (1987), and Chang (1988), which were used for the period from the 1960s to 1980s; and the field data that I collected from 1996 to 2001, which were used to illustrate the latest phenomena around the 2000s. Though these records were made from different perspectives, they provide associated data covering about 100 years. The table below shows the three major operational factors--ritual names, ritual time, and ritual *sapan*--of community rituals that are practiced linearly within an annual cycle in three different periods.

It shows that all rituals have been transformed either in ritual names, functions, practicing time, or actual operational processes in different time periods. Somehow, factors related to ritual functions are more variable to change, while factors associated with ritual symbolism are relatively resistant to change. Nevertheless, in some occasions, the core factors in the symbolic contents have also been transformed if external threats and enforcements were too strong. In general, ritual names tend to reflect practical functions and explicit meanings of rituals. For those rituals which have kept their ritual names, such as *pas-taai* ('worship of *taai*') and *pas-baki* ('worship of ancestors'), they are regarded as the best-preserved rituals without changing of their original functions in the eyes of the Saisiyat. As to those whose names have been variably changed, their major functions have also been transformed. In the case of the *a'uwal* ('worship of heaven'), it has been developed from three old rituals-- *oemoewal ka pa'oral* ('praying for rains'), *oemawal ka pa'azau* ('praying for sunshine'), and *oemongiyo' ka ba:la* ('praying for blocking disease'), which were performed spontaneously when bad weather conditions or epidemic diseases occurred in the

[20] Records about Saisiyat life-cycle rituals before the 1980s are too limited to make comparison,

Figure 13. The Transformation of Saisiyat Annual Rituals in Different Periods

In the 1910-20s			In the 1960-80s			In the 2000s		
Ritual Names	**Ritual Time**	*Sapan*	**Ritual Names**	**Ritual Time (lunar calendar)**	*Sapan*	**Ritual Names**	**Ritual Time (lunar or solar calendar)**	*Sapan*
'oemawal ka bali ('praying for stopping wind')	Anytime when storm occurred	*Babai*				*baki boon*	Jan 20 (lunar)	*Babai*
pas-ala ('headhunting ritual')	Wintertime after harvest and before sowing	*Tawtawawz-ai*	*Zhong-yuan Ghost Festival*	July 15	*Tawtawa-wzai*	*Tinato*	Feb 15 (lunar)	*Tawtawazai*
Komana' karang ('worship of karang's tail')	When weather was bad and epidemic diseases occurred	*Hayawan*				*baki solo*	Feb 25 (lunar)	*Hayawan*
pit'aza'	Before sowing dry rice	*each clan taking turns*	*pit'aza'*	Feb. (lunar calendar)	Each clan taking turns	*pit-aza*	March (solar)	each clan taking turns
oemawal ka pa'oral ('praying for rain')	Springtime when raining was needed	*Sawan*	*'oemawal kakawas*	March	*Sawan*	*a'uwal*	Mar (lunar)	*Sawan*
'oemawal ka pa'azaw ('praying for good weather')	Springtime when sunshine was needed	*Sawan*						
Oemongiyo' ka ba:la ('praying for blocking disease')	Anytime when epidemic disease occurred	*Sawan*						
			Pasang ginniolnol	March	Each *household*	*Pasang ginniolnol*	April 05 (solar)	each household
pas-baki' (I) ('ancestral worship')	After sowing dry rice	*Each aehae pas-baki'an*	*Pas-baki' (I)*	March	*Each ritual group*	*pas-baki' (1)*	May-Jun (solar)	each *aehae pas-baki'an*
						baki biwa	June 18 (lunar)	*Sayna'ase*
pas-ta'ai ('ta'ai worship')	After harvest & store of dry rice	*Titijun*	*Pas-ta'ai*	Oct 15	*Titijun*	*pas-taai*	Oct 15 (lunar)	*Titijun*
pas-baki' (II) ('ancestral worship')	After store of dry rice	*Each* aehae *pas-baki'an*	*Pas-baki' (II)*	Nov	Each *aehae pas-baki'an*	*pas-baki (11)*	Late Dec (solar)	each aehae *pas-baki'an*

(Resources: Kojima (1917); Sayama (1921); Chen (1968); Cheng (1987); Chang (1988); & author's field notes in 2001)

earlier days. However, the ritual effects on the weather and healing have been gradually replaced by the modern weather and medical institutions. Nowadays, the *a'uwal* has been epitomized to become one integrated ritual that is practiced one or two days in the springtime, mainly for keeping connections with and acquiring good blessings from the spirit of the *koko waen* -- Lady Thunder and

Lightning in the Saisiyat myth.

In a more complicated case, the ritual of *tinato* is a transformation from an old ritual called *pas-ala* ('headhunting ritual'). In the past, *pas-ala* was practiced for asking the ancestors' blessings to ensure the success of headhunting. Following the prohibition of headhunting since the beginning of 20th century, *pas-ala* had stopped. But, the *sapan* of *pas-ala* (the *Tawtawazai* clan) have secretly preserved the magic fire-making tool '*tinato*' which was used to make fire and cook a shared ritual meal in the *pas-ala*. Thereafter, the ritual was changed to worship the fire-making tool and aimed instead to ask for peace and to make reconciliation with previously hunted heads. Until 1995, when the indigenous cultural traditions have been more appreciated following the indigenous movement, a concealed ritual room for storing *tinato* had been established. Since then, this ritual has been renamed as '*tinato*' and turned its performing time back to the late wintertime, retaining the past seasonal relationships as in the *pas-ala*.

In fact, many rituals have been revived or reinvented since the 1990s with changing ritual names referring to the names of supernatural entities or ancestors. For example, *baki solo* ('grandfather *solo*'), which is a transformation from an old ritual called *komana karang* ('worship of *karang's* tail'), has been renamed and revived in 1993.[21] *Baki boon* ('grandfather *boon*'), which is a transformation from an old ritual of *oemoewal ka bali* ('praying for stopping wind'), has been renamed and re-enacted in 1997. Also, a new ritual of *baki biwa* (or *koko biwa*) ('grandfather or grandmother *biwa*') was reinvented based on Saisiyat mythical stories of *biwa* (God or Goddess Thunder and Lightning) in 2001. Interestingly, all these latest revived and reinvented rituals have transformed to become more anthropomorphized and god-like worships. They have also adopted many new elements and concepts from Han Chinese folk religions. For example, they have employed Han Chinese style incense, spiritual paper money, three sacrificed animals (chicken, fish, and pig), domestic altars, spiritual tables, and so on.[22] In

[21] *Karang* is the name of the mythical snake-or-dragon like animal in Saisiyat legend, while *solo* is a more respective individual name for the mythical animal.

[22] Many Saisiyat rituals have been easily incorporated with Han Chinese folk religios in various extents, because both religions share similar inclinations to animistic, polytheistic and syncretistic.

the most paradoxical case, a specialized Han Chinese style temple (currently named 'Wu-fu-gong') has been established to worship of *baki solo*. In this temple, other Saisiyat spirits in the myths and many Han Chinese gods and goddesses are worshipped together with the *baki solo*. Due to this arrangement, *baki solo* now acts as an indigenous 'dragon-god' placing in the centre of a public altar; people come to ask help from it whenever they need to. In this way, the influential power of *baki solo* has extended to other newly revived rituals, such as *tinato, baki boon,* and *baki biwa* (*kiko biwa*). This temple is still operated by the Hayawan clan which have mythical ties with the *baki solo*. These newly evolved religious phenomena caused contradictory reactions and internal tensions among the Saisiyat. Many Saisiyat regard them as reviving and enhancing ancestral powers to help the Saisiyat, while quite a few people are worried that they do not follow ancestral laws because they challenge the principle that each *sinayhou* should serve only its own inherited ritual.

From the above situations, we can see that the dynamic changes have obviously occurred in Saisiyat annual-cycle rituals in different periods. But in the views of Saisiyat, most people still consider their rituals to follow the most stable ancestral traditions with distinctive characters. These rituals actively connect to the past in spite of modifications. In this aspect, the ritualized past are flexible and transformative. However, there is an interesting question to ask: how can the Saisiyat neglect many obvious or visible transformations, and perceive these rituals as mechanisms for representing and reproducing a symbolic past. Regarding the stable factors in the ritual transformations, we can say that the most static factors are the cosmological ties between associated *sinayhou* groups and their inherited ritual powers. It is apparent that most ritual *sapan* still bond with the same authorized *sinayhou* group. In this regard, the cosmological ties between rituals and inherited *sinayhou* groups are major sources of continuity and stability. For those recently revived or reinvented rituals, the officiators all claim that they have re-acquired hereditary power over ritual practices by re-connecting to the ancestors through the discovery and enactment of ancestral objects. It is based on the inherited *sinayhou* associations and objectified ancestral linkages that ritual transformations could be quickly authenticated cosmologically. For this reason, we can say that inherited ritual objects construct a tangible and movable spatial

foundation to cultivate the sense of stability and continuity.

In addition, notions of time reflecting ritual practices in different periods show a relative consistency, though the way of reckoning time has been changed significantly.[23] Before the 1920s, the ritual time was mainly calibrated according to the indigenous calendar, which was based on subsistence activities and seasonal occurrences. Later on, the Chinese lunar calendar was brought into Saisiyat life and became a dominant way to reckon ritual time. However, after the 1960s, the Western solar calendar has been gradually accepted and works very well in announcing and counting ritual dates. For the Saisiyat, these divergent calendars are not contradictory but are complementary in measuring ritual time. Most rituals are operated as internalized and repetitive events following the progress of seasonal variations and life growth year after year. All calendars are anchored to position ritual time in the correct seasons and in the correct temporal sequential orders. As to the actual operational dates, most of them have been moved flexibly in order to cope with the outside world. For example, the ritual of *pas-baki* ('worship of ancestors') was practiced twice a year following the growth of main crops--dry rice. One was held after sowing dry rice; the other one was held after harvesting dry rice. Nowadays, though dry rice is not planted in the Saisiyat fields anymore, two fundamental *pas-baki* rituals are still practiced according to the related temporal and seasonal framework; one is in early June when wild chestnut flowers blossom, while the other one is in late December after silver grass blossoms in the field. However, these two rituals normally take place in the weekends at present.

In the case of *pas-taai* ('worship of *taai*'), it was practiced once a year at one ritual site in the first full moon after harvesting and storing dry rice. Nowadays, it has changed to be practiced once every two years, but it is still anchored on a full moon in the late fall. But, it is now usually counted using the Chinese lunar calendar to entertain the arriving *taai* spirits on October 15. More interestingly,

---

[23] In comparison, the spatial factor regarding to ritual operational site is more mobile in the Saisiyat ritual system. Many rituals are generally practiced in the house of ritual officiators. Thus, when a new officiator has been named, usually a new ritual site would be located. But, in the last few decades, a more fixed and specialized ritual house, ritual site, or even temple had been gradually established.

the ritual of *tinato* is transformed from the *pas-ala* ('headhunting ritual'), a ritual used to be practiced before conducting headhunting in the wintertime when the agricultural activities stopped. After it was prohibited, it was secretly transferred and combined with the Chinese ghost festival to be practiced on July 15 of the Chinese lunar calendar. When the *tinato* ritual was renamed and revived in 1995, its performance immediately reverted to the winter. Nowadays, it is more or less fixed on February 15 of the Chinese lunar calendar.

To a certain extent, ritual performances are collective representations of 'time'. They are practically alternative but cyclically repetitive, which directs to the transformative recurrence. It is obvious that the present ritual schedules and ways of time counting tend to adjust to modern calendars, both Western solar calendar, and Chinese lunar calendar, which are widely printed and used in Taiwan. In addition, the ritual dates are all modified to cope with the current national holiday system. Some ritual dates can be flexibly shifted a few days earlier or later to fit into a weekend so that more people could come back from the cities and participate.

Though the printed calendars are dominantly employed in the indigenous social life, temporal relations, repetitive cycles, and sequential orders of these ritual activities are persistent. In the local perspective, although agricultural activities have been replaced lately, the seasonal and environmental factors, such as the blossoming of the flowers, the appearance of the full moon, and the other seasonal phenomena etc., coexist in recognizing and reckoning the ritual times. In a sense, we should see that different calendars and templates are intersected and juxtaposed in processing the current rituals. The recurrence of ritual performances is served as cumulating temporal indicators. Repeated ritual activities formulate an ordered temporal series (cf. Gell 1992). By means of a collective that represents focused features of cyclicity through ritual practices, the Saisiyat conceive a temporal consistency impervious to different temporalities based on a set of focused durational links.

4-6. Variable *Tatinii* Images and Persistent Connections

To sum up, I would suggest that even though Saisiyat ritual performances are manipulative and transformative in terms of names, functions, formal and symbolic contents, or calendar systems, some sources of stability have kept generating persistent ritual themes to overcome changes. These rituals transmit distinctive messages from the past and reproduce connections with the past amidst the historical changes. They are conceived as *kasbongan*, the precious ancestral traditions in the eyes of Saisiyat, even though many new components, intentions and strategies have developed. Ritual performances are dynamically shaped and reshaped in response to intellectual and practical challenges, as well as actively adjusted in reaction to internal competitions and external forces (Comaroff 1985; Ortner 1978, 1990; Lambek 1993:55). By keeping persistent links, ritual practices creatively constructing ancestral images and shaping the 'Saisiyat'.

In order to obtain a better understanding of the creatively transmitted ritual traditions, it is necessary to think about the overall effects concerning the representation of *tatinii* images, which reproduce ancestral substances. Actually, what the Saisiyat are seriously concerned about in ritual practices is to make *tatinii* satisfied and happy for the purpose of gaining prosperity, health, and well-being. However, the *tatinii* images represented in the ritual practices are very mobile and variable, which can be objectified through multiple paths and media. But the variable *tatinii* images that have been derived from the common interests and intentions of the Saisiyat tend to reflect a stylistic schema in generating patterned ritual actions.

In the analysis of Saisiyat rituals through time, three essential features of representing *tatinii* images and forces could be identified. The first is the mobility developed due to the changing images of *tatinii*. Many alternative *tatinii* images have been constructed to represent the durational and persistent *tatinii* forces transcending the historical upheavals. Actually, various *tatinii* images have been objectified in accordance with the changing focus on the available resources at different periods. For example, before the early 20th century, ritual practices were essentially stressed on an indirect way of projecting *tatinii* images and forces. During that period, individualized *tatinii* figures were not focal points in the

public representations. *Tatinii* forces were mainly reflected indirectly from the manipulation of ritual objects and human bodies which were conceived as moving and acting by spiritual agencies. In the period from the 1930s to the 1980s, many Saisiyat ritual practices have dramatically diminished due to strong influences of and suppression from the external state forces. Many rituals were either stopped or reduced; correspondingly, chances of openly and collectively acting and representing *tatinii* had also been confined and reduced to its extreme limits. In this period, *tatinii* tended to be more secretly and privately transferred into non-obvious or hidden media, such as sacred objects in concealed containers or food associated with ritual contexts. Afterwards, these materials have gradually become focal points for ritual transmission. In the recent years, those newly revived rituals, such as *baki solo*, *tinato*, *baki boon*, or *baki biwa*, all have adopted many new elements from Chinese folk religions. Images of *tatinii* generated from these rituals become more individualized and anthropomorphized characters like gods or goddesses.

Secondly, *tatinii* images and forces tend to be associated inseparably with material objects in the ritual settings. Images of *tatinii* are often tied up with the distinctive objects narrated in legends or surviving from previous ritual practices. For example, a few rituals were recently revived mainly because people in the inherited clan claimed that they found the inherited sacred objects which they had lost for decades. In the case of *baki solo*, the wrapped bone ashes of the *karang* tail was claimed to have been discovered in the corner of the old house; in the case of *baki' boon*, a basket with shining beads was announced to have been found in storage; in the case of *baki biwa*, small pieces of a metal cooking pot mentioned in Saisiyat myth were believed to be dug out from a mountainous cave. Nevertheless, these material symbols, which used to appear in ritual scenarios or legendary narratives, are gradually transformed to become primary agents with consciousness and personality to exercise active forces. Nowadays, they are all concealed and protected in the basket or box in a miniature shrine and worshiped like gods.

The persistent representations of *tatinii* in rituals provide models of shared actions, experiences, and memories for all members of the society. It does not

mean that the full range of past factors must be preserved; neither must all symbolic features fit an ancestral prototype. In fact, the repetitive ritual performances work cyclically and dynamically to reify an epitome of the past. With emphasis on a few distinctive characteristics as focal points as mentioned above, the Saisiyat construct a mobile, portable, and perceivable past by replicating social relations, temporal sequences, and durable material links through doing rituals.

Thus, it is in the repetitive ritual operations that special powers for transmitting ancestral messages are engendered. For these reasons, I would argue that although the surface images of *tatinii* have been variably changed over the years, the forces and spirits of the past have been persistently recalled, regenerated, and incorporated into contemporary actions. Through cyclical ritual performances, ties between the present time and the ancestors' time are significantly established; new elements adjusted to the contemporary world are also forged wherever possible.

In this aspect, a vision of the collective Saisiyat past presented in ritual operations has achieved a remarkable degree of internal integration across geographic, linguistic, and cultural barriers. It reflects that the native vision of time and past stresses replicating ancestral traditions on the one hand; on the other hand, it is articulated with the wider vision of historical progressions. In the cyclically replicated ritual operations, *tatinii* can be dynamically transformed and vividly enacted, while the focus on relations, forms, ethos, and feelings can be reproduced from generation to generation among the Saisiyat.

Photo 4-1. The Chinese-style ancestral tablet and domestic shrine in a family of the *Babai* clan at the settlement of *Waro* (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2001, Donghe)

Photo 4-2. A small Han Chinese Earth God shrine located at the settlement of *Anmohuan* (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2001, Penglai)

Photo 4-3. The semi-closed Presbyterian church at the settlement of *Waro* in the 2000s (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2001, Donghe)

Photo 4-4. A group of baptized villagers in front of the Presbyterian church at the settlement of *Waro* in 1961 (Provided by the Presbyterian Church at *Waro*)

Chapter 5
Material Symbols and Analogical Links

It has been argued that objects are not just things produced and used by persons; material objects also define persons in different aspects (Appadurai 1986; Munn 1986; Miller 1987; Hoskin1998). By considering the power of objects in creating social relations and motivating cultural messages, objects could substitute persons as 'social agents' in certain contexts (Gell 1998:5). Extending from these concepts of mutual constitutive ability between objects and persons, this chapter seeks to explore the substantial connections and objectified memories constructed by Saisiyat ritual objects. I would argue that certain ritual materials are endowed with agentive capacity in creating connectedness based on elaborate physical qualities and analogical transformations.

Among the Saisiyat, the elaborate and proliferated ritual practices have suggested their importance in the construction of social memory. Although the practical functions, forms, and contents of most Saisiyat rituals have been transformed by historical processes, several schematic themes have been repeatedly reproduced based on typical material associations. Many tangible devices, such as material symbols and bodily actions, are frequently highlighted as focal points that make linkages with the past. Those anchored ritual objects are frequently conceived as inevitable necessities seriously demanded and requested by the *tatinii*. By reproducing and representing these ritual objects, the *tatinii* have been served and satisfied, while at the same time, thematic messages have been consistently reproduced and transmitted based on stereotypical material resources. From this perspective, anchored ritual materials can be regarded as a 'memory' in an objectified form. As Gell has argued that 'each object embodies not just the memory of its immediate exemplar but a cumulative series of memories, memories of memories, and so on'; thus, objects can be traced as a movement of thought, a movement of memory reaching down into the past, and a movement of aspiration probing towards the future (Gell 1998:257).

Many anthropological works on ritual symbolisms have given notice that ritual symbols not only serve to reflect abstract thoughts but also to construct physical connections based on objective qualities (Ortner 1978, Turner 1974, Barth 1975, Whitehouse 1992). 'Multifarious qualities' of material objects provide an analogical basis for recalling other objects with similar or related attributes which could be further used to map associated experiences from one domain to another (Tilley 1999: 263-264). Among Saisiyat ritual symbols, we can see that metaphorical or metonymical connections are sophisticatedly sustained and reproduced. Transformative linkages are derived from material or corporeal properties crossing various sensory domains such as seeing, touching, eating, and hearing in ritual actions. In order to make the complicated material roles and entangled analogical connections analysable, I attempt to divide three categories of material symbols and associated ritual themes. Each theme is associated with a complex set of material symbols. Each symbol is highlighted by certain tangible entities and analogical codes. Key messages are thus generated repetitively and nonverbally through material and sensory inter-references.

In general, Saisiyat material symbols and ritual themes can be categorized into three different groups, namely: (1) inherited ritual objects and the associated idiom of secrecy which are derived from the feature of restrictive accessibility; (2) ritual foods and the associated idiom of generosity which are generated by sharing and consuming; and (3) natural symbols and the associated idioms of life enhancing and conflict cleansing which are related to the characteristics of natural phenomena. These three categories are identified and distinguished mainly according to their representational characters in ritual contexts which are not clearly demarcated in indigenous classification. Also, we can note that different groups of ritual materials are not totally separated or isolated from each other. In many cases, similar messages can be expressed by symbols in different categories.

To some extent, material analogies are perceived and identified by interplays of various sensory spheres. In addition to the sense of seeing, other senses such as touching, eating, or hearing are also emphasized in Saisiyat ritual performances. As suggested by Tilley (1999), physical and material experiences are overwhelmed by the senses and are built into things through the processes of

making, transacting, utilizing, and consuming (Tilley 1999: 272). Via multiple sensory interactions such as visual, tactile, and auditory interactions, material analogies embedded in ritual symbols provide fluid but substantial connections that link objects and persons, and create relations across social, cultural, and natural domains through attribute identification and comparison.

In the following sections, I would focus on illustrating the substantial qualities and sensory features of material symbols in each category. By doing so, I would first attempt to identify the raw materials and forms of these objects then analyze their trajectories of operation, consumption, or destruction in a contextualized background. Furthermore, I would examine the analogical connections and sensory elaborations that have been employed to recall and map other related experiences for construction of continuity.

5-1. Inherited Sacred Objects, Secrecy, and Accessibility

For the Saisiyat, many ritual objects are inherited and employed in communal and annual-cycle rituals. These objects are carefully preserved, guarded, and inherited[1] by authorized clans. They serve to legitimize the distribution of ritual powers and signify the transmission of ancestral essences. Through manipulating inherited objects, the relationship between social classification and ritualized power division is concretely defined and recognized. They should not be transacted out of the boundaries of inheriting clans nor should be touched and seen by others. Nonetheless, the guardianship of and the knowledge regarding these objects are not just considered as ownership or property rights by the Saisiyat; they are defined as collective responsibilities and inescapable obligations for authorized clans.

It has been noted that ritual resources can be important reproductive capitals in various societies (Godelier 1986, Lindstrom 1985, Harrison 1990, Sahlins 1999). Some studies show that ritual songs, dances, spells, art styles, and magic knowledge are traded as goods and reproductive capitals (Harrison 1990). Other studies suggest that ritual objects could be conceived as inalienable possessions

for deriving 'cosmological authentications'; they are objects which 'accumulate historical significance' and generate power to create differences through the rights of possessing these objects (Weiner 1992:5-37). The paradoxes between possessing and transacting objects are fundamental issues in regarding Saisiyat inherited ritual symbols. The complicated and interplayed rules in transacting, possessing, moving, touching, and seeing actually become external or extended features of these inherited objects. Though each inherited ritual object has its particular way of control, they all share a commonality of contact restrictions at different levels. The accessibility of these objects or object-associated knowledge projects appropriate social relations between objects and persons, the Saisiyat and their ancestors, individuals and groups, as well as 'self' and 'others'.

In the views of the Saisiyat, inherited ritual objects are not just things possessed by people; people are also possessed by these objects. Once people hold these things, they are not able to act freely nor walk away freely. They have to behave following the objects' rules. Many informants like to describe that the inherited ritual objects would actively 'follow' and 'stick' to members of the authorized *sinayhou* clan. More significantly, these objects are associated with restrictions on moving, touching, and seeing, as well as other associated taboos in ritual operations. The complicated interplay of restrictions to accessibility make inherited ritual objects tightly tied up with idioms of sacredness and secrecy. Extendedly, through the interaction of various inherited ritual objects, secrecy and mystery have become common themes in Saisiyat communal rituals. However, due to their special formal features and bodily engagements, these inherited ritual objects are the most intriguing ritual foci, which attract the greatest attention from ritual participants in the enchanted ritual themes. In the Saisiyat belief, these inherited ritual objects are things to be served, to be worshiped, and to be cared for. They are significant, because they connect to images of and forces from the *tatinii* in both visible and invisible ways. Economic value and aesthetic sophistication are not of major considerations. In stead, qualities or properties that could create analogical links to the *tatinii* have been highlighted. Though many material elements and formal characteristics used in these ritual objects are transacted and transported from the outside market or from neighbouring groups,

external resources and foreign origins are either frequently internalized or intentionally neglected by the Saisiyat.

In general, two different principles are applied to manipulate Saisiyat-inherited ritual symbols. One involves several eye-catching displays of ritual insignia which are openly displayed in the ritual of *pas-taai*. They are frequently mediated in a principle to refract divine presence; they represent dynamic powers and forces transposed from spirits mainly through the physical movements and visual qualities of objects. The second group of inherited symbols is concealed ritual paraphernalia which is called *kake'roan* by the Saisiyat. They are conceived as sacred remaining or bodily parts left behind by clan ancestors and as such; thus, they are always secretly preserved in closed containers. Though they are invisible and untouchable, they are mediated like hidden forces which directly link to ancestral bodies. In many Saisiyat communal rituals, the concealed material symbols are physically preserved and secretly guarded by ritual host clans. In the following discussion, I shall illustrate these two types of inherited ritual symbols, outline their transformative roles, and identify their analogical connections.

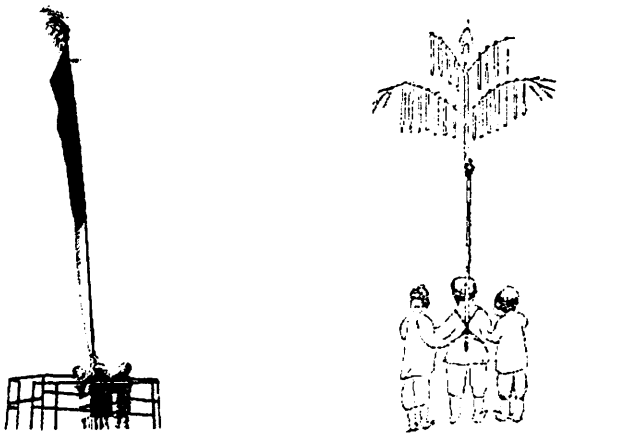
5-1-1. Displayed Sacred Regalia

Most openly displayed ritual symbols are popularly employed in the *pas-taai* ritual. In this ritual, many material elements including sacred objects, ritual costumes, songs, dances, and various plant symbols, are used to construct the spectacular ritual settings. Among them, four kinds of objects, namely, the *sinadun* (10th-year ritual flag), the *paputol* (snake whip), the *kirakil* (clan dancing flags), and the *tabagnasan* (sounding backpack) are recognized as key symbols of the ritual.

(1) *Sinadun* Flag

One of the most distinctive ritual symbols overtly displayed is the *sinadun*. It is a tall flag reproduced every 10 years and is displayed publicly for three days then disposed to rot. It requires reproduction based on images in mind from vague memories. The appearance of the *sinadun* flag signifies the most significant event for the Saisiyat. The flag is made of a very straight, thick, and tall bamboo pole

with a height of about 6 meters. On the top of the main pole, a special species of bamboo (*aeoo* in Saisiyat) twig with leaves is attached along with three small copper bells and a small red *rinring' ara* (a special type of 'clan dancing flag'). Two pieces of cloth hang on the main pole, which are red on the top and white on the bottom and with a length of about 3 meters and 2 meters, respectively. Thought the *sinadun* is considered as the greatest object in the ritual, the raw materials used in this flag are not extraordinary in their economic and aesthetic values. It is the elongated shape and contrasting colours that catch the attention of the participants (see Figure 14). In fact, the exact meaning of the *sinadun* is not well acknowledged among the Saisiyat. People carry it, protect it, observe it, and dance around it without explaining too much about it. Many Saisiyat elders believe that the *sinadun* flag is a sacred lodging and resting post for the spirits of *taai* when they come to attend the 10th-year *pas-taai* ritual. Thus, it is a sacred object with the strongest powers. Once the flag is made and carried to the ritual site, it has to be erected on a bamboo platform at the east side of the ritual house and has to be cautiously guarded by the male members of the authorized clans day and night. It cannot be touched by anyone except by authorized men. The Saisiyat believe that if the *sinadun* flag is touched inappropriately or falls down to the ground, terrible things would happen to the community, and the flag carrier might die.



A. *Sinadun* produced in the 1990s B. *Sinadun* produced in the 1920s

(Resource: Hu 1996, Sayama 1921)

Figure 14. The *sinadun* Flags Produced in Two Different Periods

More than these, difficulties in the *sinadun's* ritual movement create even extraordinary emotions and impressions associated with the object. For three nights, in the middle of communal dancing and singing, the *sinadun* flag has to make processions in the dancing ground and to circulate the dancing group in an interval of around 80 to 100 minutes. In the procession, the tall and heavy *sinadun* flag is tied on the back of the carrier (a man of the *sinadun* host clan) who moves slowly around the ritual ground. In fact, the sensation of sacredness and sublimation is expressed strongly in the praxeological movements of the *sinadun*. In a practical sense, it is already very hard to walk with the tall flag; however, in the middle of the *sinadun* procession, a lot of Saisiyat participants have to touch the shoulder of the flag carrier (called *talsabal* in Saisiyat). It is believed that every Saisiyat should do *talsabal* on the walking *sinadun* carrier twice in his lifetime to secure his health and fortune. It is believed that the sacred power of the flag could be transferred to the participants through the flag carrier's body acting as the medium (see Photo 5-1).[1] Thus, the *sinadun* procession becomes spectacular and exciting. The *sinadun* carrier, with a huge flag tied on his back, moves with difficulty in the windy or sometimes rainy night, while the Saisiyat crowd run to touch the carrier. The assistants of the carrier then anxiously try to protect the carrier from falling and prevent the people from mistakably touching the flag. Thus, in the operational process, the sacred power of the *sinadun* flag is sophisticatedly expressed through multisensory engagements and multilayered metaphorical and metonymical referents.

(2) *Paputol* Whip

Similarly, another ritual symbol, the *paputol*, is also publicly displayed to generate important messages based on its material form and praxis. The *paputol* is a ritual whip produced and guarded by the *pas-taai sapan* (ritual host clan), the *Titijun* clan. The shape of this whip imitates the very widely encountered and most venomous snake in Taiwan, the 'hundred-pace snake' (*Trigonocephalus*

[1] Since the *sinadun* flag appears once every 10 years, the first time one would do his/her *talsabal* is usually in the childhood years, with parents carrying him/her to touch the flag carrier; the second time is when he/she is already a grown-up.

ancistrodon sp.). It is mainly made of a long twig of a *baSaa* tree (paper mulberry, *Broussonetia papyrifera* Vent). The wooden handle is about 10cm long, which is carved triangular to imitate the head of a hundred-pace snake. The soft 'body' of the whip is made by removing the xylem part of the *baSaa* twig and plaiting stripped tree skins together; the plaited triangular patterns from the contrasting inner and outer skin represent the triangular black-and-white skin patterns of the hundred-pace snake. The 'tail' of the whip has two short pieces of rattan skins attached to it, which is used to increase the sound effects of whipping (see Figure 15).

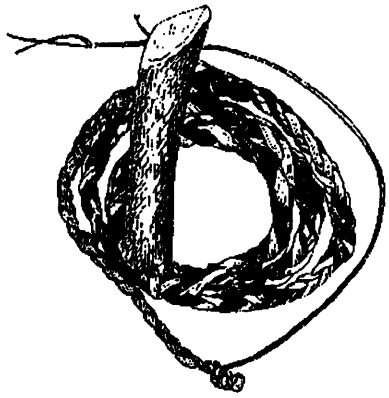


Figure 15. The *paputol* Whip

The *baSaa* tree, the raw material of the snake whip, grows widely in the wild. The tree's leaves are the most favourite food for mountain deer. The fibre of the tree absorbs water greatly, and it is used as a popular papermaking resource by the Han Chinese since early times. The Saisiyat are aware of the water-resistant quality of the *baSaa* tree. An elder of the *Titijun* clan, who has the right to make the *paputol* whip, told me that the *baSaa* has better flexibility and water-resistant quality than other trees. The *paputol* is made up of this tree, because it has to show great power by withstanding rains (water) and not breaking easily in whipping.

Actually, the *paputol* whip is made and used only by the leading ritual clan in South Saisiyat, not in North Saisiyat. The leading ritual officiator in South Saisiyat, the *gale a eteh*, gives the reason as:

> In the past, all Saisiyat were congregating in one ritual site to practice the '*paS-taai*'. After many years when population had grown bigger and people had dispersed into different settlements, it became more difficult for all Saisiyat to travel and gather together in one place for the *pas-taai*. For this reason, the *pas-taai* ritual had been divided in two sites. The South Saisiyat is the elder brother, while the North is the younger brother (called *kapayiaiyisan*). Thus, the ritual host clan in the North does not make and use *paputol* in contrast with the practice in the South.[2]

In the above statement, it shows that the ritual whip is identified as a symbol to legitimize and exhibit the ritual power of the original, leading ritual officiating group. Like the *sinadun*, the snake whip is also prohibited from being touched and seen by unauthorized people. It is made at the beginning of ritual dancing and singing and is also openly used and displayed for three days until the end of the ritual congregation. A new snake whip is produced in each ritual practice (held every two years according to the current practice), but actually, two whips are used in each ritual. One is newly made, while the other is the old one which has been preserved from the last ritual event. These two whips are subtly distinguished in shape, length, and skin pattern, which imitate snakes of both genders. In fact, a snake whip with a different gender is made in each ritual. Thus, when the whip maker starts to work on a new whip, he has already an image in mind of whether it is a male snake whip or a female snake whip that he is going to produce. According to a previous *paputol* maker who is an elder of the *Titijun* clan, the female snake is shorter, bigger, and has less contrasting colours in its skin pattern, while the male snake is longer, thinner, and has more obvious black and white patterns. Anyway, these differences are recognized only when one makes a careful and detailed visual comparison of the two whips, which is an extremely exclusive occasion just allowed for the senior male members of the *Titijun* clan.

---

[2] Some elders remember that the *pas-taai* ritual was practiced in only one place around 90 years ago. That means the division of ritual happened in the 1910s, which was the early period of Japanese colonisation.

Normally, *paputol* whips are placed secretly and privately in the *pas-taai* ritual house. In the three formal singing and dancing nights, the newly made whip is carried out to display and exercise in front of the public in an interval of about 50 to 90 minutes. The movement of the *paputol* whip is another dramatic scene in the ritual. It is carried out from the ritual house by a young man of the *sapan*, who holds up the coiled whip in front of his forehead with his two hands. Behind the whip carrier, a group comprised of younger male members of the *sapan* follows, with each member carrying a knotted *osoe'* grass (Pacific Island Silvergrass) on his right hand. They proceed slowly into the centre of the dancing circle, then each man takes turn to use the whip (see Photo 5-2). It is believed that by whipping and flapping the *paputol* on the ground, the clouds and rains could be removed. When the whipping sounds are louder and crispier, it is believed that the rain and cloud removing effect is better and faster. Each whipping process usually lasts for about several minutes, then the whipping group silently goes back to the ritual house. The frequency and length of the whipping process depend on the weather. If it is rainy and cloudy, the whipping is done more frequently and for a longer duration. Moreover, similar actions of *talsabal* (touching shoulder) are also done to the whip carrier during the whipping process. From touching the body of the whip carrier, the Saisiyat believe that they can receive magical power from the *paputol* whip, which could make them grow healthier and stronger. Again, the object itself is not allowed to be touched, but the carrier's body is instead used as the medium for the transfer of spiritual forces through bodily contact.

In fact, the magical power of the *paputol* whip goes beyond removing rains and clouds in the dancing ground. It is believed that a stronger power of the *paputol* whip is achieved when the old whip and the new whip (or the male whip and the female whip) are unified in the ending performance. In this process, two whips are tied on two sides of a cleaved bamboo woven tray and smeared with watery mud. Two men, one from *sapan* (the leading ritual host clan) and one from *a'uma* (other clans) would carry the mudded tray and smear the tray onto the backs of women and children. The Saisiyat claim this generates powerful healing power to protect weaker people. Here, the images of unification of old and new, male

and female, 'self' and 'others' are expressed by tying two *paputol* whips together. From the ritual manipulation of *paputol* whip, we can see that many qualities and properties are employed at different levels in different domains from one solid symbol. It is not one symbol presenting one meaning in a logical sequence; instead, various complicatedly intertwined and condensed meanings are openly acted and experienced without saying and explaining. For examples, the shape, colour pattern, sounds of the whip, the bodily contact with the whip, and the tying of the two whips together metaphorically and metonymically transform into images of a snake, the power of life, the power of clearing the sky, the unification of divergent powers, and life healing forces. In their material associations, various critical messages are dramatically transmitted from one symbol by overtly stressing on multiple analogical linkages.

(3) *Kirakil* Clan Flag

Another distinctive type of ritual object overtly displayed in *pas-taai* is the *kirakil* (or *rinringara*), the clan dancing flag. Though they are also publicly displayed in the dancing ground, they represent less sacredness with less access constraints but with more decorative features. *Kirakil* is a generic term now popularly used to address all clan dancing flags. It is a big, tall, and colourful flag with a round or oval shape, which is mainly made up of matted bamboo frames and with attached pieces of cloth. The flag consists of two parts--a round handling base and an elongated body. Actually, there are two types of clan dancing flags which appear in a ritual. One is the *kirakil* whose body is shorter, wider, round, arc shaped, and with a wooden handling base. Another type is the *rinring'ara* whose body is taller, narrower, flatter, oval shaped, and with a handling base made up of a bamboo tube (see Figure 16). The front surface of the flag is fully covered with coloured cloth, and on the cloth, shining objects such as mirrors, tiny metal plates, alloy beads, bells, glassy plastic papers, and other new materials with desirable qualities are used as decorations according to an individual's preferences or aesthetic creations. In general, stars, moon, sun, and flowers are the most commonly used decorative patterns; nowadays, the Chinese characters of clan

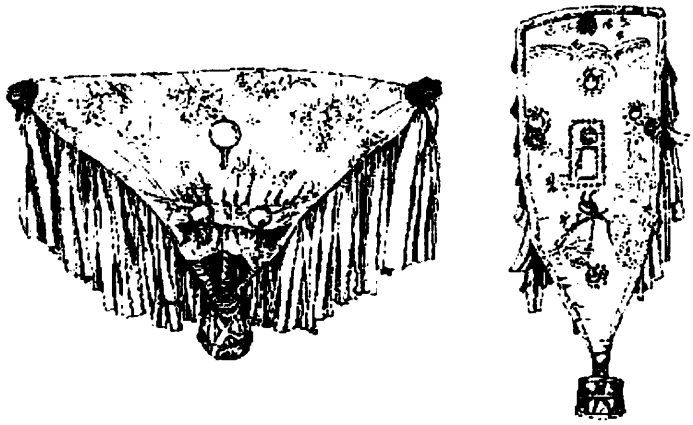


Figure 16. The *kirakil* and *rinring'ara* Clan flags

names or the national flag have become popular as decorations. On the back of flag hangs hundreds of small colourful paper strips which function as tassels.

Because the *kirakil* (or *rinring'ara*) has shiny decorations and is always used in the dancing sessions after sunset, some Saisiyat regard it is a 'moonlight flag'. Usually, the main frame of the *kirakil* (or *rinring'ara*) is not reused after one ritual practice, while its decorative materials could be saved for succeeding usages. Few elders say that at a deeper level, the different shapes of *kirakil* and *rinring'ara* represent two kinds of leaves which are the leaves of a mountain palm tree and a mountain banana tree, respectively. According to the Saisiyat myth, leaves of these two trees indicate the relationship between the Saisiyat and the *taai* spirits.[3] Like other displayed ritual symbols, the verbal interpretations of these flags do not play any central role in the ritual. Most people just make it, carry it, or watch it without giving it any concrete or standard meaning. Nowadays, not many Saisiyat seriously distinguish between the *kirakil* and the *rinring'ara*. The term *rinring'ara* is not even popularly recalled anymore. The

[3] In a popular legendary story related to the *taai*, it says that when the neighbouring group of *taai* was set up and killed by the Saisiyat, three survivors of the *taai* were very angry with them. Before they left the Saisiyat, they tore the mountain palm leaves into pieces. Thus, the leaves changed from something like banana leaves into the current tassel-like shape of the leaves.

practical function of the *kirakil* has also been altered. From historical documents and photos, we can clearly see that the *kirakil* and the *rinring'ara* were used as a dancing headdress worn by the male dancer until 60 years ago. In the process of transformation, the object gradually increased its height up to more than one metre and its weight up to 10 kg. Since it has become too tall and too heavy to wear on the head, it was shifted to be placed on the male dancer's shoulder and was transformed as a dancing flag.

However, the unchanging point is that the *kirakil* serves as a central focus that stands for the power of its associated clan in the dancing. It is produced and carried only by male members of each clan, though female members could help decorate it. The access restrictions associated with the *kirakil* are relatively less. In South Saisiyat, every clan, except the ritual *sa'pan* (*Titijun* clan), is able to make their own *kirakil*. Bigger clans with several sub-clan groups might make two or three *kirakil* dancing flags, if they could do so considering the flag's labours creation and action. In North Saisiyat, the *kirakil* is created in fixed numbers. Totally five flags are made: two from the *Tautauwazai* clan, two from the *Titijun* clan, and one from the *Kaibaibau* clan.

In the ritual performances, the *kirakil* has to be kept dancing, moving, jumping, and waving during the whole dancing session, which means 12 hours a night for three consecutive days. Young men in the clan have the responsibility of taking turns to carry the flag and dance with it without any breaks. If a clan is short of manpower, and dancing the *kirakil* is frequently stopped in the ritual, it is believed that bad luck could be brought to the associated clan. Therefore, it is a serious task for the clan's young men to dance the *kirakil* flag (see Photo5-3). It is very often that members of each clan in the dancing ground carefully discuss and praise how vividly their *kirakil* flag has danced, or how regretful they are if their *kirakil* flag has stopped in the middle of the ritual. The movements of the *kirakil* during the ritual obviously reveal the importance and benefits of having more male members in a clan. In short, the eye-catching shape, contrasting colours, and shiny decorations on the surface of the *kirakil* make the object like a container or antenna which draws the attention of spirits and catches spirits. Thus, the Saisiyat frequently think of it as a resting place for their clan ancestors when they come to

attend the ritual. Following a similar principle, either the material (shape, colour, decorative pattern) or the praxis form of the *kirakil* offers a solid foundation to convey understandable and polysemous messages.

(4) *Tabagnasan* Sounding Equipment

The *tabagnasan*, a special ritual sounding equipment used in the *pas-taai*, has much lesser restrictions regarding its production and handling. Each household can produce its own *tabagnasan* depending on the household's ability. Usually, more than 15 *tabagnasan* would appear in each ritual dancing ground. It could be made and carried either by a male or a female; there is no gender restriction for this. The object can be touched and seen in either ritual or non-ritual contexts; there is no strict temporal division. Also, the object could be physically saved and reused for the next ritual; there is no obvious exclusion of material representation. The only taboo related to the *tabagnasan* is that if a woman is pregnant, she and her husband are not allowed to touch the object.[4]

The *tabagnasan* is made up of bamboo stripes or a ramie woven net as the main body, while shiny beads, coloured plastics, and mirrors are placed on the surface cloth. About 40 to 50 hanging strings of metal bells or bamboo tubes are attached along its lower edge (see Figure 17). In the ritual, the *tabagnasan* is tied on the back of the carrier who dances smoothly and slowly with the rhythm (see Photo 5-4). In the middle of the dancing, the carrier can stop at his own will anytime to take a break. In general, the *tabagnasan* is regarded as a type of equipment that could produce crystal and pleasant sounds which attract and entertain the *taai* spirits who come to attend the ritual in the Saisiyat world. With a weaker sacred essence, this sound making equipment creates spiritual linkages mainly through its sound effects.

---

[4] The taboo for pregnant women and their husbands to have body or eye contact with ritual objects is the most essential concept in the Saisiyat ritual system, which is applied to all objects with ritual essence, including cooking ritual food. For the Saisiyat, the mysterious forces of creating a new life in the status of gestation could cause conflicts with the spiritual forces in the rituals, which could either influence the success of the ritual or negatively affect the developing life in the womb.

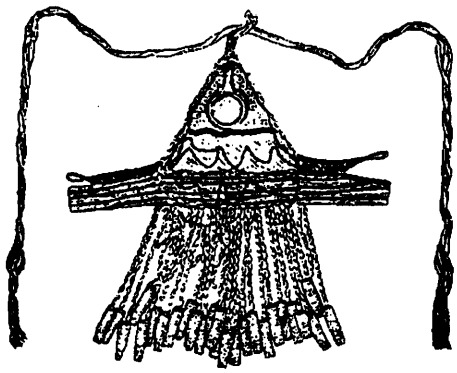


Figure 17. The *tabagnasan* Sounding Equipment

In sum, the displayed ritual symbols mentioned above create meanings in various levels through ritual actions. To see or not to see, to touch or not to touch, to move or not to move, all these material and bodily interactions generate critical meanings. On the other hand, the restrictions in their production and handling represent and reproduce the layered interrelations and integrations among different social groups. For examples, the *sinadun* flag and the *paputol* whip can be touched and made only by male members of the inherited *sinayhou* groups; women and people with 'other' *sinayhou* names are prohibited to touch these objects. Meanwhile, the *kirakil* and *tabagnasan* are less restrictive when it comes to their production and handling. The *kirakil* flags are not prohibited from being touched by clan women, but they cannot be touched by 'others' of different clans and ethnic backgrounds, while the *tabagnasan* provides much less restrictions, because they can be touched by everyone except for pregnant women and their husbands. From this perspective, we could say that the dynamic effects on inclusiveness and exclusiveness are reified and actualized in ritual performances through the complex operations of these displayed ritual objects.

More significantly, other than representing social relations, these displayed ritual objects are the most appealing visual foci in ritual practices. They attract the greatest attention from the participants. Since many of these objects or main frames of these objects will be destroyed after the ritual processes, they are mainly made up of ephemeral materials which are usually derived from the natural

environment, especially from plants such as bamboo, rattan, wood, or bark of trees, etc. However, some fashionable materials traded from the outside, such as coloured cloth, plastic paper, beads, mirrors, bronze bells, etc., are applied as colourful and shiny decorations. These traded materials will be saved and reused for the next ritual.[5] The displayed ritual objects are visual foci in ritual performances not only because of their eye-catching characteristic in terms of their colour, shape, height, or shiny decoration, but also due to their distinctive way of movement and bodily engagement, or by the extreme and dramatic means of destroying the objects after the ritual practices. Images of these objects are more or less associated with scarcity in visual consumptions. Like what was argued in Kuchler's work on the *malangan* sculptures of Papua New Guinea, objects are scarce in visual consumptions become extra attractive and sticky in cognition. Because they are made to be absent through destruction, thus they produce memory as images in the mind (Kuchler 1987, 1999). For these reasons, I would argue that the displayed ritual objects are powerful mnemonic devices that serve as links to the past because of the substantial properties and strong mental images derived from the dramatic actions and interactions. Based on divergent sensory stimuli, these displayed objects are emphasized as the most active and energetic connections with the *tatinii* and with the past in ritual performances. Their physical presence evokes associated messages and entangled emotions powerfully without the need for words.

5-1-2. Concealed Ancestral Relics

In contrast to the visually appealing ritual objects overtly displayed in the ritual of *pas-taai*, other Saisiyat communal (or seasonal cycle) rituals are basically centred on privately concealed ritual symbols as primary memory foci. Such are the rituals of *a'uwarl* (heavenly ceremony), *tinato* (fire spirits ceremony), *baki solo* (sacred dragon ceremony), and *baki boon*, (magic healer ceremony), and son

[5] The *tabagnasan* sound equipment is usually not strictly required to be destroyed after a ritual, since it is conceived as having less sacred essence.

on. Each of them is practiced by referring and tracing to a symbolic object that has been kept safely by the leading ritual officiator of the authorized clan (see Photo 5-5 and Photo 5-6). These objects are claimed to be physically preserved, inherited, and transmitted from one ancestor to another over generations. Although most rituals have been transformed in historical processes, these objects are conceived as the most solid evidences of the past. They are physical traces which attest to the 'origin' and 'authenticity' of the ancestors; thus, they are also turned into an ancestor (*tatinii*). For these reasons, these objects are always sacredly kept and concealed in containers. They cannot be touched nor be seen at all times except by their inheriting keepers and very few elders of the authorized clans who could open the container and examine the contained materials in very rare cases.[6]

The concealed ritual objects are traditionally preserved and contained in woven rattan baskets, wooden boxes, cloth, or skin wrappings; in recent times, Chinese style domestic shrine boxes have often been adopted and added as an extra exterior container (see Photo 5-7 and Photo 5-8). The containers could be layered and changed following the changing fashion. They are placed in a secret corner or an enclosed room in the ritual house, and they serve as extensions of and protections for the sacred materials inside. According to the descriptions of some keepers, sacred materials hidden inside the containers seem to have some common features. Essentially, there are things related to bodily remains such as hair strands, fingernails, bone ashes, and there are also some precious foreign materials saved from the past such as shell beads, fire-making tools, metals, or shining beads, etc. For the Saisiyat, the concealed sacred objects are referred to as *kakeroan* or inherited ancestral things. They are believed to be either parts of the bodily remains of ancestors or are precious things which had close bodily contacts with the ancestors. In this sense, these objects are essentially conceived as material bodies which replace and represent their ancestors' bodies. They are regarded as metonymies or extensions of the ancestors represented in objects. Thus, people

[6] A keeper once told me that he has only opened the concealed box and examined the things once within the past five years.

usually address these objects as the *tatinii* (ancestors or spirits of the past) in their conversations, treat them as if they were their ancestors themselves, show great respect to them, take care of them, and regularly offer essential resources such as fire and water to them. For these reasons, they are materially inherited and preserved by keepers and are safely guarded from being seen and touched by others. These ancestral symbols stand for direct bodily connections with their ancestors in the ritual transmissions.

Since the concealed ritual objects are considered as physically preserved and inherited, they are recognized as the oldest things from the past in the Saisiyat world. Although many ritual factors have been flexibly and creatively transformed, these objects create the most direct connections with the past mainly through metonymical associations in the ritual settings. For instance, *tinatoo* was the former fire-making tool openly used in a previous headhunting ceremony named *pas-ara* which was hosted by the *Tautauwazai* clan in North Saisiyat for a purpose to make the Saisiyat more powerful to proceed headhunting successfully; now it has been physically preserved but functionally transformed to become a concealed inherited symbol in the *Tautauwazai* clan for practicing a ritual named *tinatoo* (fire sprit ritual), and this aims to comfort the past 'hunted heads'.

The right of protecting and preserving the concealed *kakeroan* are always strictly confined within the authorized clans. Normally, the keepers of these ancestral relics serve as leading officiators in the practice of associated rituals. Although it might not have obvious monetary benefits to be a keeper, the Saisiyat say that one could acquire health and well-being if he is taking good care of the *kakeroan*. Four of five *kakeroan* keepers told me that their lives improved after they took care of the sacred objects. According to them, they were either not healthy or had serious family problems before they became keepers and ritual officiators. Thus, many in the inheriting Saisiyat lines are eager to be an heir of the *kakeroan*. However, there is little tension arising from competition for a keeper, because the Saisiyat believe that it is the *tatinii* or the object itself which decides its keeper by giving signs which show whom it prefers or likes to stay with.

In ritual performances, these concealed objects are quietly and privately kept in the secluded place of the ritual house without being moved. During rituals, the keeper and a few male elders of the inheriting clan would light up the fireplace in the object's room, come to sit by the object, and accompany it as the ritual progresses. Different from those displayed ritual regalia which equate their sacredness and secrecy to the difficulties in their movements and their deconstruction after ritual practices, the secrecy and sacredness associated with concealed ancestral relics are mainly derived from their concealment or strict exclusion from tactile and visual contact. Their containers are the walls that prevent direct contact and constitute boundaries for visual accessibility. However, the exclusion of contact evokes more imaginations and stronger emotions. Invisibility and the absence of actual visual images subtly directs to dramatic mental imagery of the *tatinii*.

As a matter of fact, the management of secrecy and concealment is primarily defined by denying visual and bodily contact with the ancestral materials. Indigenous attitudes toward discussion of these concealed sacred symbols are complex and ambivalent. In one sense, they are excited to talk about it, because it shows their knowledge and their distinctive cultural ability in controlling the sacred and concealed essence of the ancestral materials. In another sense, they are hesitant to talk too much about them, because they are not sure how much they can say about those things without irritating ancestors, and they are also afraid that the curiosity aroused by the discussions would end up with someone opening the concealed objects. Thus, in the field, when our conversations reached such issues, dialogues would usually become excited and anxious. Many informants, after eagerly describing the remarkable stories of these objects with exaggerations, frequently recited stories concerning those who violated Saisiyat ancestral laws and touched the concealed objects, which they should never do. In many cases, researchers from the outside are popularly characterized as violators. I have been reminded again and again by different informants that previous researchers who saw the concealed sacred objects eventually caused bad luck to themselves and the object keepers. These conversations usually ended up with my reassuring them that I shall never see or touch the concealed objects.

However, in spite of differences on operational principles, both displayed and concealed ritual objects share a few common features. First, they are inherited within the authorized clan, either intellectually or physically, as objects with sacred essences. Second, they are central devices which provide the ancestral linkages in ritual performances through the interplay of material objects and human bodies. Third, they generate messages of secrecy and sacredness through the different levels of accessibility restrictions. Fourth, they are not allowed for exchange and transaction, and this inalienability is consciously used as a "vehicle for bringing the past into the present" (Weiner 1992: 210). At a practical level, these two types of inherited ritual objects present opposite acting roles. One is the displayed regalia which is operated by physical reproduction and is dynamically moved by carriers in ritual actions, while concealed ancestral relics are operated through physical preservation and static storage in ritual performances. By comparing their material characteristics in operation, two contrasting and opposing sets of roles are depicted as below:

displayed : visible : moving dynamically : ephemeral : reproduced

concealed : invisible : stored statically : permanent : preserved

From the above descriptions, we can see that the key messages conveyed through these inherited ritual symbols do not rely on oral and verbal expressions. Instead, they are mainly focused on nonverbal expressions via complicated material and sensory engagements. Basically, multifarious connections have been employed analogically through material objects in terms of visuality, tactility, and praxis. Eventually, silent and salient messages generated from these symbols create shifting boundaries for inclusion and exclusion of the self and of others on one hand, and objectify deeply embedded sacred connections with spirits and the past through material discourses on the other hand. In general, the inherited ritual objects work as memory foci associated with distinctive material features and bodily engagements. Seen from these points, I would argue that inherited symbols popularly employed in Saisiyat communal rituals do not just signify social classification, circulation, or integration but also deeply evoke and inspire memories through interaction and response to selected analogical codes perceptible in material interactions.

5-2. Ritual Food: Edible Sources for Remembering Ancestors

In Saisiyat rituals, another remarkable imagery is characterized by the usage of ritual foods. Different from the inherited sacred symbols, ritual foods are more associated with sharing, conviviality, and mundane experiences. Food and wine are widely consumed in all kinds of Saisiyat rituals. The overwhelming images of preparing, offering, sharing, and presenting food appear repeatedly in ritual scenarios. Besides, gender division and cooperation is highly required and appreciated in the process of preparing ritual foods. Women are in charge of general tasks associated with cleaning and cooking. Men are responsible for pounding, cutting, distributing, and making offerings. In a series of operational processes, ritual foods become the most effective media which create touchable and consumable links penetrating individual bodies. In general, Saisiyat ritual foods are mainly comprised of sticky rice (*ho'ol*), millet (*tata*), and pork (*ayan*). The desire for these foods is far beyond the everyday necessities. Food in special forms, made of special materials, and prepared by special methods are strictly required and highlighted in ritual performances, though similar ingredients are used in different ritual roles.

There are three major roles that these foods play in rituals: (1) as offerings to the *tatinii*; (2) as substances to be shared collectively in a communal meal; (3) as gifts to be presented and distributed to relatives. Making food offering ('*homabes*' in Saisiyat) is the most basic process in both annual rituals and life-cycle rituals. It must consist of three basic elements: staple grains, animal meat, and rice wine, which all together represent the structure of an ideal meal. Staple grains are usually offered in the form of sliced sticky rice cake (*tinaobun*) which is stringed up in a pointed bamboo stick (see Photo 5-9); occasionally, in the form of steamed loose sticky rice ('*sinpa'pa*') which is wrapped in a piece of banana leaf, or in a form of steamed millet (*tata*) which is placed on leaves of *rika* tree (a special plant species in the Saisiyat territory) in a woven basket (see Photo 5-10). Pork, as the primary animal meat to be offered, is always water-boiled, sliced and stringed up in a bamboo stick. It is usually combined with different parts from body, heart, and liver which metonymically symbolize a whole pig. These special foodstuffs, together with rice wine ('*pinopae'ae*') or sticky rice wine ('*pinoSakan*'), must to

be offered outdoors and must be set facing the east. They are placed on the ground, under a tree, and left for ancestors to eat. In the process of the offering, clan representatives would speak to ancestors and spirits, either asking for good weather, good health, or good fortune for the household, the clan, and the community. In this way, offerings serve as tangible mediators so that the Saisiyat could transmit their wishes and hopes to the ancestors.

Sharing ritualized food in a communal meal is highly emphasized in annual rituals. This aims to integrate people at different levels through consuming formalized substances. Those foods ritually shared among the Saisiyat are basically the same as the foods offered to ancestors in *homabes*. Thus, they are also comprised of pounded sticky rice cake, steamed sticky rice, steamed millet, and water-boiled pork. In many cases, fried fish and vegetable soup are added as side dishes. The sticky rice cakes and boiled pork are cut into square chunks about 10 cm in length; steamed sticky rice and millet grains are pressed into small balls. These foods are always communally shared during lunchtime. Foods are placed on the ground. People squat surrounding the food and use their bare fingers to eat without any plates, bowls, and chopsticks. In this 'traditional' way of sharing, other than substances shared together, the formalized bodily actions also transmit critical messages among the Saisiyat.

Furthermore, foodstuffs are indispensable gifts widely transacted in ritual occasions. It is usually accompanied with practices of presentation, distribution, and feasting. As food gifts, sticky rice cake is usually made into a rounded shape of about 40 cm in diameter and around 10 kilograms in weight; steamed sticky rice is contained in separate plastic bags, each weighing around 10 kilograms; pork is uncooked as let to remain as it was after being butchered. Usually, those food gifts are transported to the recipient's house, and openly displayed on the ground in the courtyard. The kinsmen of the recipient's family congregate to divide the pork and sticky rice cake into square chunks around 8-10 cm in length, place them in small plastic bags, and distribute them to clan members, neighbours, and friends. These gifts are not consumed immediately at the ritual site; they are

brought back home and eaten there.[7] At lunch, a banquet styled feast is held. Foods consumed in the feast are modernized Han Chinese style banquets, which usually consist of 8 to 10 main courses. In the case of the *maZau* (natal-home-visiting after the death of the married couple) practiced in South Saisiyat in 2001, a lunch feast included foods as: lobster salad, raw fish sushi, fried sticky rice, steamed grouper fish, soy sauce stewed pig feet, chicken and bean soup, fried whole chicken, stewed bamboo shoot, and sweets, etc. They were served on tables and eaten with bowls and chopsticks. In this sense, food gifts are more than table fare shared to enhance social bonds; they are conceived as requirements set by ancestors. The Saisiyat believe that the two allied families would be granted fortune if ancestors of both clans have been satisfied by the food gifts. A ritual address made by elderly representative in the *homabes* of a natal-home-visiting ritual clearly shows the essence of food gifts transacted among the Saisiyat. It says,

> *Baki* (grandpa), *koko* (grandma) please listen to me. We brought a few things to speak to you. These things we brought might not be plenty. But, you could not say they are too few. In the past, even though our forefathers just provided you a bit of food, you accepted them with pleasures. We are not good orators as were our forefathers, but we have good intentions. *Tatinii*! *Tatinii*! Please help us to sort out the problems and difficulties. Please let the family be healthy and prosperous.

Thus, in different ways, foodstuffs all act as a distinctive category of ritual signs and play special roles in expressing connectedness at various levels. They are powerful media which cross social boundaries and bridge differences. They build connections between individuals and communities, between the Saisiyat and the *tatinii*, between women in the secular sphere and men in the sacred sphere, and between everyday experience and ritual experience.

More significantly, a notion of 'generosity' is overtly expressed in rituals and everyday life through the medium of food. The moral value of *baSibai*, sharing

---

[7] Distributed food gifts are brought back to each household after the ritual. They are shared later in family meals. The popular way of eating these foods nowadays is to fry or grill the sliced sticky rice cake and to dip them in ginger soy sauce; as to the pork, it is stewed in soy sauce or diced to be fried with vegetables.

food with the *tatinii* and others, is an important concern among the Saisiyat. Food is not just offered or shared in rituals. In daily contexts, the Saisiyat also share food with the *tatinii* by throwing bits of food and drops of wine onto the ground before meals. Visitors who come to Saisiyat homes are frequently welcomed with food whether they are acquaintances or not. Once, I chatted with the wife of a retired local schoolteacher about the introduction of high-tech commodities to Saisiyat villages, and she narrated an interesting story which vividly reflects the Saisiyat' concept of food and generosity.

> Because my husband was working in a school, we were the first one to own a TV in our village. In the first few weeks after we had a TV in our house, my mother-in-law was very worried, and she prohibited us from turning on the TV. Once we turned it on, she turned it off right away. We were puzzled and kept asking her why she did not like to watch TV. Finally she told us, "How could you invite people to come to our house everyday without treating them with food? They are hungry. If you are not going to treat them with food, stop inviting them to come." For quite a long time, she could not understand that people in TV do not need to share food with us.

From this case, we can conclude that to be generous in food was basic and spontaneous among the Saisiyat. Though concepts on wealth and property have changed nowadays, ritual foods are still key resources that generate sensory experiences based on generosity and conviviality.

In the past, these ritual foods were primary resources of livelihood produced by the Saisiyat. The Saisiyat offered food that they produced to the *tatinii* as an expression of gratitude or as a medium of exchange. In a sense, the ritual usage of food reflects a basic analogy in symbolic operation: food production and fertility = human reproduction and fertility = social procreation and productivity. Here, the fundamental analogical links are derived from mapping food production to human reproduction and human reproduction to social procreation. However, these analogical relations were altered due to the change in lifestyles and mode of subsistence in the contemporary Saisiyat society. But regardless of the modern style of living, similar food types are widely used and are irreplaceable material symbols in Saisiyat rituals. They are served as offerings to ancestors, as substances shared and consumed in communal meals, and as gifts presented and

distributed. More importantly, these foods represent an ideal past life, represent images of the past, and make connections to the past. Thus, even though sticky rice or millet is not planted in the fields and domestic pigs are not raised in gardens, the power of these food resources in linking the Saisiyat and their *tatinii* (ancestors and spirits of the past) persist.

Anyhow, rather than emphasizing previous food production/cultural preproduction symbolism, ritual foods are now culturally elaborated material sources which derive codes for mapping understandable and memorable experiences repetitively. In the thoughts of the Saisiyat, sticky rice, millet, and pork are the types of food required and preferred by the *tatinii*. As edible links with ancestors, these food types are commonly and widely used in three different ritual roles, namely, as offerings to the tatinii, as substances shared collectively, and as gifts presented and distributed to relatives. Though similar ingredients are used, they are involved in different roles, prepared though different processes, presented with distinctive arrangements, and consumed in different ways. For the Saisiyat, they are conceived as items requested and asked by ancestors. Nowadays, due to dramatic changes in economic conditions, the amount of food gifts has greatly increased. In some large-scale rituals such as the *maSpazau* (natal home-visit when the children are already grown-ups), food gifts could consist of 200 to 300 kg sticky rice cakes and more than three or four pigs which cost more than NT$ 50,000. In return, the receiver's family could spend even more money on giving a modern feast for about 300 guests.[8]

Thus, in contrast to inherited ritual symbols which tend to be sacred, concealed, and untouchable, Saisiyat ritual foods constitute a remarkable arena for expressing relatedness and continuance with their inherent mundane, ephemeral, visible, touchable, consumable, and digestible features. Although food seems to make a poor inalienable possession because of its tendency to decay, it is a good medium which leads us to understand its transformation from being raw to cooked,

[8] Guests who attended the feast would sometimes prepare cash gifts for the feast's host. These cash gifts were usually given to the food-gift provider as a blessing from the natal home.

from consumed objects to an established body, from discrete individuals to relatedness, and from everyday materials to marked symbols. As Sutton (2001) commented, food embeds multisensory and synaesthetic qualities which include the senses of taste, smell, touch, and sight. Thus, I would argue that ritual foods encode important messages and construct critical linkages in multiple senses and facets. They do not simply symbolize social bonds and divisions but are also participant in the creation and recreation of social bonds and divisions; they do not only represent social situations with which they are associated but are also memorable as sensory representations of social experiences. In the complicated processes of handling food, Saisiyat ritual foods provide unspeakable but vivid links to the past in synaesthetic experiences. In what follows, I shall further explore the evocative power of food by examining the elaborate sensory properties and associated social situations for each food used in Saisiyat rituals.

5-2-1. Sticky Rice (*'ho'ol'*) and Viscosity

Sticky rice (*ho'ol*) is the most commonly used food in Saisiyat rituals. Whether it is in the form of a pounded cake (*tinaubun*), steamed loose grains (*sinpapae*), or liquidized wine (*binoSakan*), it is a popularly demanded item in most ritual occasions. The precious value of this crop was related to its role as a precious agricultural product in the past. In the days before the 1950s, sticky rice was one of the major agricultural products produced in the Saisiyat fields. Though its place in agricultural production has been replaced, it is still selected as the primary ritual food that represents unbreakable connections with ancestors against other crops such as rice, taro, and yam. Thus, why is it that after sticky rice was stopped being planted in the Saisiyat field for more than 40 years already that its amount required in rituals did not decrease and was even increased by 10 or 20 times? To answer these questions, the importance of sticky rice both in the agricultural and in the cultural system will be more carefully examined.

In the old days when slash-and-burn agriculture was the main source of food, mountain rice was one of the major crops produced by the Saisiyat. In the *Survey Reports on the Customs of Taiwan Aborigines* published by the Provisional

Investigation Committee of Taiwan's Old Customs in the 1910s, it stated that the livelihood of the Saisiyat relied mainly on agriculture, and mountain rice, sweet potato, and taro produced in the dry field were the most important products; millet and vegetables were second (Kojima 1917). From the data collected in the South Saisiyat area, the ratio of agricultural products in the dry field was 'mountain rice:sweet potato:taro:others =10:2:1:1'. This shows that the dominance of mountain rice in Saisiyat agriculture lasted until 100 years ago, when the Japanese government started to advocate and enforce water rice farming in the Saisiyat area.

Some senior Saisiyat elders recall the classification of mountain rice (*pazai*) before into dry rice (*pazai borasih*) and sticky rice (*pazai ho'ol*). They said that land usage in slash-and-burn agriculture with only a knife, a short hand axe, and a digging stick as tools had its harsh limits and cycles. Usually, after exploitation for five or six years, the land had to stop being used. Only when the land recovered its fertility after a period of about 10 years could the next exploitation cycle start again. In the cycle of land usage, the Saisiyat usually planted sticky rice (*pazai ho'ol*) in the first year, because sticky rice needed a very fertile land in order to grow. After which, dry rice, millet, taro, and sweet potato were successively planted in the following years. However, the old concept of crop value in relation to land power is not familiar to younger generations who did not practice slash-and-burn agriculture nor planted sticky rice at all. Nowadays, most Saisiyat explain that their need for sticky rice in rituals is related to its material features of sweetness or viscosity. Some people told me that their ancestors like sticky rice, because it is sweeter and tastes better than other crops. More people refer to the special quality of viscosity in sticky rice, because the notion of 'stickiness' has been stressed and expressed explicitly in many rituals. For examples, *tinaobun* cake is usually made and pounded by young men with the same clan name, and the cake symbolises and reifies the consolidation and unification of the distinctive clan. In the pounding process, senior members usually stand aside and repeatedly tell the young men who are pounding, "*Unpounded sticky rice is loose and separated. Use your pestles to pound them together to make tinaobun cake. Like how the sticky rice would become glutinous, so should we stick together and never be separated*".

No matter what different explanations could be given, the sticky rice is the most desired food which is irreplaceable in rituals. Even though the importance of agriculture has declined with the current economy, and sticky rice is not planted in lands anymore, the ritual roles of sticky rice has not diminished. On the contrary, the link between sticky rice and ancestors has become stronger. Currently, market purchased sticky rice still defines the inseparable relations between the Saisiyat and their ancestors. From a few personal stories I heard from Saisiyat informants, we could realize how the Saisiyat express strong feelings and memories in their social lives, which are related to sticky rice.

The first story was told by a woman who is in her early 60s and who has an Ayatal indigenous background. She relocated to live with her Saisiyat husband who is a member of the *Babai* clan in the *Raromoan* settlement since around 45 years ago. In a chat in her house, she recalled some strange things that she found out when she was just married and was starting her new life in the Saisiyat village in the 1950s.

> During the time when I just got married, my sister-in-law who was married to Penglai gave birth to her first child. She went back to her natal home for the ritual of *malas-ka-gogolin* (natal-home-visiting after having the first child). She brought some cooked loose sticky rice grains. According to the Saisiyat custom, in the ritual of *malas-ka-gogolin*, the woman who married out should carry some steamed sticky rice grain called *sinpapae* in Saisiyat back to her natal home and exchange it for another *sinpapae* that is prepared by her natal home. One healthy child brought from her husband's clan and another child from her natal clan had to eat the exchanged *sinpapae* in front of the door before she entered her natal home. This process was called *sasabe ka linaso* (exchange the carried food). However, my husband's family was too poor at that time, and they lived on a high mountain where it was not easy to reach out to other houses, so when my sister-in-law came back to her natal house, we did not have any sticky rice at home. Thus, we could not give her any *sinpapae* in exchange. After which, she went back to her husband's house. My mother-in-law and I started to grow sticky rice in the field. We waited for about a few years to save enough sticky rice, about 5 or 6 kilograms. My mother-in-law and I cooked the sticky rice, wrapped them in banana leaves and placed them in a bamboo-woven carrying basket. We carried the *sinpa'pae* and climbed the mountains for more than a half day. Finally, we arrived at my sister-in-law's house and returned the sticky rice we owed them. By that time, her newborn baby had already grown quite big.

The second story was from a knowledgeable Saisiyat male elder of the *Kaibaibau* clan who is in his middle 70s. He is one of the very few Saisiyat piety followers in the local Catholic Church nowadays. He described his recent experience of ancestors' calling for sticky rice as follows:

> About three years ago, I started to dream that I am distributing pork in the village of *Raromoan* again and again. I went to the diviner and tried to find out the reason. At first, the diviner could not find any concrete answers. After a few tries, she asked me to think about things that my father or mother had not finished. With this indication, I recalled that my father passed away about 30 years ago, and within a month, my mother also passed away. Thus, my mother did not have the chance to go back to her natal home to give the ritual of *mazau* (natal-home-visiting after the death of spouse). During that time, I was enthusiastic about affairs in the Catholic Church; my father's brother was also devoted to the Presbyterian Church. Neither of us remembered to do *mazau* for my mother. I told the diviner about this situation. Then she asked the spirit again, and this time, the answer was confirmed very fast. Therefore, just a few months ago, I prepared a part of a slaughtered pig, a few bottles of rice wine, and a few *tinaobun* cakes and brought these foods back to my mother's natal home in *Raromoan*. When I arrived in her natal house, the relatives of her natal home told me that I must have steamed *sinpapae* in loose grains as appropriate offering to ancestors in *mazau*. Fortunately, they had some sticky rice at home. I borrowed their sticky rice and cooked it in their place. This way, we offered *sinpapae* to our ancestors. After finishing the ritual, I came down the mountain village right away and drove my car to the market in town to purchase some sticky rice, then I drove back to return the sticky rice to my mother's natal home immediately.

The third case was related to a 50-year-old woman of the *Tatai'si* clan, and her experience involved a more complicated and exceptional situation. Because there was no son in her natal family, her parents had her husband (from the *Kakarang* clan) married into her house rather than she marrying out to her husband's house like normal Saisiyat marriages. She said she did not know that she should practice rituals of visiting her natal home, because she had never married out. Thus, she did not do the ritual of *maSpazau* when her children had all grown up, nor the ritual of *mazau* when her husband died. However, for a long time, her children were not healthy and had a bad luck. Thus, she went to the diviner and asked for reasons. The diviner told her that the reason for this was she owed the *tatinii* sticky rice and pork. Therefore, she organized a joint ritual of *mazau*

and *maSpazau* in January 2002. The practice of *mazau* which is related to death was performed first then followed by *maSpazau* which is related to growth. For these two rituals, she prepared two slaughtered pigs, 120 kilograms of sticky rice to make *tinaubun* cakes, and 12 kilograms sticky rice to make *sinpapae*.

These personal stories embody some interesting concepts and beliefs of the Saisiyat regarding sticky rice. First, sticky rice is something that could not be forgotten; no matter how long one had forgotten, the ancestors would always come for the debt. Second, the differences in stickiness has its meanings, such as differences between pounded *tinaubun* cakes and loose *sinpapae* grains. Another type of more watery and glutinous sticky rice cake (*pinas-baki'*), which is used in the *pas-baki* (ancestral spirit ceremony) as a special device throwing onto the ancestral basket, is also clearly distinguished.[9] In fact, in Saisiyat words, they frequently describe their *tinaobun* cakes to be more energetic, more solid, and with higher tenacity, thus more tasty than the *ban*--the sticky rice cake produced by the Hakka Chinese in their neighbourhood. In a sense, this ethnocentric judgment has its basis, because the Saisiyat *tinaubun* is usually pounded by many young men who are strong; however, the Hakka Chinese *ban* is either pounded by women or by machine nowadays. The attachments of the Saisiyat suggest that the ritual value of sticky rice is more important than the indication of crop production to human reproduction; its critical meanings could be derived from the culturally elaborated material and sensory qualities of sticky rice, such as viscosity and strength.

5-2-2. Millet (*tata*), Primordiality, and Dryness

In contrast to sticky rice, millet (*tata*) is not very popularly used in current Saisiyat rituals. Only in two annual rituals like the *pit-aza* (sowing ceremony) and

---

[9] It is now produced only in one Saisiyat *pas-baki* ritual group (*Babai* clan in the *Raromoan* settlement). In the end of ritual performance, all young men would collect a small piece of *bingas baki* and throw it to the *bushi* basket. Since *bingas baki* was extremely viscous, it was very difficult to hit the target. It is believed that one who hits the target with *bingas baki* would have prosperity and good luck in the coming year, especially in the hunting activities.

the *a'uwal* (worship of heaven) is millet required as an indispensable resource. In the *pit-aza*, millet is used as primordial seed for sowing, which symbolizes the start of farming in a year. In the process, the ritual's leading officiator (*aza*) in the village has to prepare some dried millet seeds, clear a ritual sowing field in his garden, and make some sticky rice cakes and wine before the ritual day. In the formal ritual day, the *aza* gets up early in the morning and addresses ancestors quietly in his room, asking for fertility and prosperity for the village in the upcoming farming cycle. After the prayer, he holds the millet seeds in his hands, walks silently and secretly to his garden, and sows the millet seeds on the ground, facing the east. However, the *pit-aza* is not popularly practiced due to the decline of agriculture in Saisiyat economics. Only one or two settlements have kept doing this ritual. However, in those few settlements where the *pit-aza* is still practiced, the millet seed is still the symbol which initiates sowing and farming.

In the ritual of *a'uwal* (heavenly ceremony), millet also plays a critical role. A series of processes for preparing millet, offering millet, and sharing millet are extraordinarily stressed and elaborated. A postgraduate student from the *a'uwal sapan* (the *Sawan* clan), *eteh a atau* (Pan Qio-rong as his Chinese name) made a detailed description of the roles of millet in ritual processes (Pan 1998). According to his accounts, before the formal ritual days in the ritual preparatory session, millet on stalk is purchased from the market, carried back to the ritual house, covered by mountain goat skin, and placed on the fireplace to dry. During the formal ritual day, the newly purchased millet is taken out of the bag and mixed with already very dried millet saved from last year. After lunchtime, two men from the *sapan* (the *Sawan clan*) are picked out as millet handlers and presenters, addressed as *no-komabes* in Saisiyat, by divination. These two *no-komabes* are persons who are in charge of millet preparation and processing. They first place millet into a huge bamboo woven try on the ground and stamp the millet using their feet to remove the seeds from the ears. Then the daughters-in-law of the *sapan* clan take over to finish the ear-removing task. After which, the millet seeds are poured into a mortar by the fireplace in the ritual house, two *no-komabes* start to pound the millet with pestle to remove husks, and again, the daughters-in-law of the *sapan* clan take over to finish the husk-removing task. Later, the millet is

placed into a bamboo tray in order to remove the husks. After winnowing, the millet is poured back into the mortar and pounded by two *no-komabe̲s* again. In the process when two chosen men are dehusking, waving, and pounding the millet, the other participants rush up to touch the *no-komabe̲s*' shoulder through practicing *talsabal* (Pan 1998: 73-74). The health and prosperity of the Saisiyat are believed to be enhanced by touching the millet handlers' shoulder. From these actions, we found out that sacred powers are derived from the millet, and these powers can be passed through the body of millet handlers to the Saisiyat participants.

After the food processing stages, the millet is brought to the kitchen to be rinsed and steamed by two *no-komabe̲s*. However, during this period, nobody should touch the *no-komabe̲s* anymore. When the millet is done, the two *no-komabe̲s* will offer the steamed millet grains to the *tatinii* by placing them onto seven *likar* leaves in a small woven bamboo tray, together with a few white shell beads. The offering group, usually consisting of the ritual's leading officiator, a *no-komabe̲s*, and representatives of the 14 Saisiyat clans, will walk out of the ritual house to the nearby woods and will make offerings towards the east. In the meantime, all participants are locked in the tightly closed ritual house, and they share small millet balls. After the offering group returns to the ritual house, all ritual participants start to share pork. By finishing these foods, the tightly closed ritual house is opened again. Every ritual attendant has to go back home immediately without looking back at the ritual house.

The indispensable role of millet in these mentioned rituals emphasizes its mythical relation to primordial crops in the Saisiyat world. This is legitimized by two popular Saisiyat legends. One depicts the discovery of millet through small animals such as a bird, a mouse, or a fox, which explains the very first beginning of cultivating food by the Saisiyat. Another one describes the connections between millet and the spirit of *koko wae̲n*. In this story, *koko wae̲n* as a lady thunder came from heaven and was married to a Saisiyat man; she carried a sacred metal knife to plant a special gourd which could produce abundant millet grains in the garden. *Koko wae̲n* not only gave the millet to the Saisiyat but also taught the Saisiyat to grow millet. *Koko wae̲n* is the key spirit worshiped in *a'uwal*. Thus,

the mythical story cosmologically authenticates the relationship among the millet, agricultural origin, and *koko waen*, and it makes this connection widely remembered by the Saisiyat. In this way, the millet, in contrast to sticky rice, has its special feature as a primordial substance among the Saisiyat. Even though millet had lost its economic importance a long time ago, its ritual meaning and importance still remain, and its ancestral connection is still transmitted in the public representational contexts of rituals.

It is also interesting to note that during the day of processing and offering millet in *a'uwal*, water, wine, or liquid drinks are not allowed to be drank in the ritual site. The feature of dryness is somehow intentionally linked with the millet in the ritual. Most Saisiyat recalling their experiences of *a'uwal* would mention the extreme thirst caused by eating millet grains with their dry texture and the prohibition of drinking liquid in the locked ritual house. Nevertheless, the power of millet is overtly displayed in the *a'uwal* through bodily and sensory engagements with the millet in the ritual actions. In the process of interactions, human body works as the transmitter, such as the body of the millet handlers, which transfers substantial forces to others. At the same time, the human body is the important receptor, such as all participants, which receives the material essence from touching and eating the millet.

5-2-3. Pig Meat (*ayan*), Vitality, and Fat

Pork (*ayan*) is the most popularly and widely used ritual meat at present. Although pigs were one of the primarily domesticated animals before, they are not very popular among the Saisiyat now. Most pigs used in Saisiyat rituals are commercial pigs purchased from the market. Like sticky rice, it is also the most widely used food in ritual offerings, communal eating, and gift giving. In one sense, pork is presented in patterned ways as important ancestral links in food form. In another sense, the amount of pork provided is an indicator that the Saisiyat use to measure and express the scale of ritual performance. Therefore, the Saisiyat tend to count the number of pigs that are used for identical rituals. Lines such as, "The *pas-taai* this year used seven pigs", "The wedding of *galahe* used

10 pigs", "The *maSpazau* of *lalo* used seven pigs", and so on are often heard in daily conservations.

The meat of a domesticated pig (*babui*) is the most widely and dominantly used ritual meat. However, it is not irreplaceable and the sole meat type required in ritual contexts. From historical documents and the narratives of elders, we could learn that the meat of wild animals (such as wild pig, deer, mountain goat, etc.) acquired from hunting was regarded as the most precious ritual meat in the past, with wild pig (*walisan*) meat being the most special. The vitality of a *walisan* and wild animals was believed to be a sign of power; it signifies the vitality and bravery of Saisiyat hunters. Not only the meat of a *walisan* was consumed joyfully, but the teeth of a *walisan* were also used as precious decorations on hats, armlets, or breast cloth of high-ranking Saisiyat hunters, which metaphorically and metonymically signify the vitality of hunters. In addition, the lower jaws of a *walisan* as well as other wild animals such as deer and mountain goat were preserved and hung on the front eves of houses as trophies and animal charms. Even today, the vital power derived from a *walisan* is still indispensably required in some special ritual occasions. For example, if a bloody conflict among different Saisiyat groups or between the Saisiyat and other groups happens or is recalled, a *walisan* must be sacrificed to cleanse the conflict and stop the hatred. However, due to land exploration resulting in diminishing wild resources, the *walisan* and other wild animals as the primary sources of ritual meat have been gradually substituted by domestic livestock. The analogical relations between a *walisan* (wild pig) and a Saisiyat hunter, as well as between a *walisan* (wild pig) and a *babui* (domesticate pig) involve complex metaphoric and metonymic transformations which indicate that vitality and strength are key essences embedded in animal meat.

The transformability of ritual meat could be further demonstrated by the fact that the meat of domesticated bovine animals was also popularly used before the 1940s. In the records of 1920s, beef was served as ritual offering, food gift, or as shared substance in many Saisiyat villages (Kojima 1917). An ethnographer in the 1960s also mentioned that many Saisiyat households raised a few cattle during the Japanese colonization period. In ritual occasions, the Saisiyat would kill these

high-valued cattle and use cattle meat as the ritual meat. He further stated that later on, due to Japanese discouragement of killing cattle, the Saisiyat gradually stopped using cattle meat as ritual meat (Chen 1968:92). During my stay in the Saisiyat villages, many elders who are over 70s in age still remember the days when they raised and killed cattle, and used beef in ritual offerings, food sharing, and gift transactions. According to their narratives, the Japanese introduced the skills of cattle raising into Saisiyat settlements for the sake of increasing labour forces for cultivating water rice fields. Since the Japanese government planned to convert the slash-and-burn dry rice fields in the Saisiyat area into water rice fields, labour forces for farming were highly demanded.[10] However, the Saisiyat frequently killed the cattle, because they enjoyed the taste of meat and needed the meat for rituals.

Although the major resources for animal meat varied in different periods, the basic ways of killing, dividing, cutting, cooking, presenting, or distributing meat have been sustained, which create similar images during rituals. Animal meat in ritual usage is usually cut into thumbnail pieces for offering and into square chunks for communal eating and gift distribution. In occasions of ritual sharing, meat is presented in cooked (water boiled) form, while in occasions of gift distribution, it is presented in raw form. In fact, different parts of animal meat have different values. Viscera are regarded as the most favourite portions, which are always cooked in salty ginger water, first offered to ancestors and elders, and then shared by all participants in the ritual site. The head and the feet are saved for the ritual host and officiator, and then the meat of the main body is equally shared and distributed among all. As scarce resources mainly used in rituals, the meat of four-legged animals are symbols of vitality and male bravery. In this regard, no matter what meat resources the Saisiyat use in rituals, animal meat as a generic

---

[10] According to Japanese plan, a way of domesticating indigenous groups in Taiwan and transforming these 'savage' groups into 'civilized' groups involved teaching them how to cultivate water rice and to transform the lands into water rice fields. However, this water rice cultivation project was not very successful in many indigenous villages due to both economic and cultural reasons. Since many indigenous villages were situated in highlands where it was not easy to grow water rice, and water rice cultivation was also very labour-intensive and process-complicated, they did not appreciate and integrate this into their indigenous agricultural system.

category creates meaningful ancestral connections based on the consistent methods of meat handling and processing.

It is interesting to note that pork has now become the most overwhelmingly used ritual meat by the Saisiyat, though various kinds of animal meat can have equal chances (in terms of convenience and price) of being purchased in the market. The desired amounts for *ayan* in rituals have increased steadily in recent years when the Saisiyat have more money to buy commodities. The *ayan* has become the dominant ritual meat. It is obvious that the *ayan* has qualities and values preferred by the Saisiyat. When I asked my informants why they just buy *ayan* rather than other meat types for rituals, many of them gave similar answers like, "The *tatinii* like to eat *ayan*", "The *tatinii* are asking for *ayan*", or "The *ayan* could satisfy the *tatinii*". These show that in Saisiyat thought, the *ayan* is the meat favoured by the *tatinii*. However, why is the *ayan* favoured by the *tatinii* and consequently favoured by the Saisiyat? It seems that the meat's material qualities perceived through senses other than sight, such as taste and touch, provide the hint.

Analyzing from this perspective, the material feature of high grease content or slippery fat (*sima* in Saisiyat) of pork convey messages and values from the past. For the Saisiyat, the grease in pig meat is delicious. In ritual offering and sharing, pork is always boiled in salty ginger water without adding other spices to improve its taste. In fact, the bodily contact with the greasy and slippery pork fat was more greatly appreciated and sanctified in the past. According to early literatures and oral narratives, the grease of pork fat is used to smear Saisiyat warriors' bodies for protection. In an investigative report made by Kojima (1917), an interesting information about smearing pork fat among the Saisiyat was narrated as follows:

> ...When a decision of fighting with the tribal enemy was made, the headmen of the Saisiyat settlements started to collect money from every household to purchase a pig. They killed the pig and shared its meat together. Then the grease from the pig's fat was smeared onto the body of every man. They called this process *somiyaw noka babui* (smearing the grease of a pig). By doing so, they believed that they could be saved from being shot by the enemies' arrows. This was generated from their understanding that the grease from a pig's fat was very slippery, and by smearing it on the body, the enemy's arrows would slip

> down when a Saisiyat warrior is shot. Thus, the Saisiyat men would not be injured in the war. Nowadays, only pig meat is shared in communal eating before a war, but in the past, the grease of pig fat was smeared on the body as a kind of amulet to avoid arrows. (Kojima1917:134)

The above account proves that the greasy and slippery features of pig fat were highlighted and valued by the Saisiyat before. At the same time, the author noticed a ritual transformation from smearing pig fat to eating pork. In this case, it showed that messages and values from pig meat could be fluidly transferred and transformed across sensory domains from touch to taste.

To sum it up, ritual foods are a distinctive category of material symbols employed in Saisiyat rituals. They create visible, touchable, and edible ties with ancestors. They act as less apparent but more widespread memory foci among the Saisiyat. Contrary to the sacred essences generated from inherited ritual symbols, food messages are transmitted based on mundane and consumable media. These consumable resources create more fluid passages penetrating individual bodies and creating linkages which serve as powerful media to break social boundaries and bridge differences at various levels. Accompanied by a series of processes on food preparation, presentation, and consumption, the taste of food, its tactile qualities, or the visual images of handling it create multiple paths across different sensory domains. The rich sensory experiences derived from ritual food interweave and orchestrate to create sensational connections.

5-3. Natural Symbols for Life Growing and Conflict Cleansing

Another category of material symbols widely used in Saisiyat rituals are objects derived from the natural environment. These things are frequently brought into human categories with the purpose of managing or regulating social relations. As a construction of indigenous experience in their world, natural symbols reflect a pattern of how social meanings are identified from the logic among natural things. At the same time, they also reflect the indigenous perceptions of nature and their judgment of natural elements (Douglas 1970: 31-32; Tilley 1999:49). Although many natural symbols such as human bodies, plants, animals, celestial

phenomena, and so on have been employed in ritual practices, I would focus on those which are constantly related to two pivotal themes in Saisiyat rituals—the themes of life enhancing and conflict cleansing. These two themes are closely associated like counterparts. Cleansing conflicts between the Saisiyat and the *tatinii*, among different clan groups among the Saisiyat, and between the Saisiyat and other ethnic groups could be interpreted as symbolizing the growth of an individual, a clan, or a society. However, a wide variety of natural things such as plants, the rising sun, the running water, and animal blood are basic analogical resources that convey messages for these two themes.

(1) *Ka-di-azem* Grass for Adding Life Essences

In the Saisiyat ritual system, plants grown in the local flora kingdom are frequently employed metaphorically to express critical messages. The significant features of plants are sophisticatedly identified and widely used to make sense of social relations and reify ideological concepts. As I have discussed in Chapter 3, *ka-di-azem* grass leaves are repetitively applied onto the body of Saisiyat in several Saisiyat life cycle rituals. The leaves of *ka-di-azem* are conceived as fundamental sources of life essences.Through fastening the moistened leaves of *ka-di-azem* onto the body of the receiver, it is believed that life essences would be transferred to him. *Ka-di-azem* literally means 'things make soul' in Saisiyat. In the Western scientific classification, it belongs to a species of water pennywort (*Hydrocotyle sibthorpioides* Lam.). This grass is a very small trailing plant spreading widely and wildly almost everywhere in the Saisiyat lands. It grows very quickly in moist soils. More importantly, its thick, rich, tiny green leaves visually convey a message pertaining to flourishing and growing eternally as in the appearance of the grass. Thus, this is only used in life cycle rituals in which the power of growth needs to be enhanced. Through a process of analogical transformation and image mapping, thematic messages of growth are derived from comparing the flourishing of grass in the natural domain with the experience of growth of the human in the social domain.

The process of fastening *ka-di-azem* leaves onto the human body is called *di-azem* (make a soul) or *pa-theo'oel* (to grow) in Saisiyat. Nowadays, it is also popularly referred to as *tie-cao* (to paste grass) in Mandarin. Usually, every

Saisiyat has the opportunity to be pasted with *ka-di-azem* leaves for a few times during his lifetime such as during his birth naming, spiritual adopted naming, ritual return to his mother's natal home for a boy, or wedding for a girl. The person who operates *di-azem* is usually a senior member of the family who has the same gender as the receiver. To be the *di-azem* operator, one must be healthy and should have never had a snakebite. In each practice of *di-azem*, three leaves are to be pasted on the receiver's face: one leaf on the forehead and two leaves on each side of the cheek. In fact, several other natural symbolic resources from various domains are used in the process of *di-azem*. For examples, water from the running mountain spring has to be used like a paste to moisten the *ka-di-azem* leaves. The operation must take place in the morning by facing the rising sun in the east. After the leaves are attached, the receiver's body would be held up by the operator while saying loudly, *"theo'oel"!* three times (*theo'oel* means 'to grow' in Saisiyat). In addition, the operation has to avoid the forces of death. If anyone in the family has died within a month, the whole practice has to be postponed for a month. From the operational processes, we could see that the fundamental meaning derived from the physical attributes of *ka-di-azem* leaves is associated with other natural symbols expressing similar attributes. They are interplayed either in the logic of contiguity or of similarity and are jointly linked to transfer messages of growth and flourish from the natural domain to the level of human life.

(2) *Oesoe* Grass for Protection from Attacks of Deconstructive Forces

Oesoe grass is another powerful plant symbol profoundly recognized and utilized by all Saisiyat. It is indispensably required and demanded in the ritual of *pas-taai* (dwarf-spirit ceremony). In the late fall and early winter when the *pas-taai* ritual time comes, the *oesoe* grass spread in the fields starts to blossom and change its colour. Different from the direct enhancement of life essence as expressed in *ka-di-azem* leaves, *oesoe* grass works in a converse way to protect living beings from the attack of destructive *taai* forces. For the Saisiyat, *oesoe* grass is identified as the natural resource possessing magical protective power. Through tying or knotting *oesoe* grass leaves directly into the human body,

precious objects, or passages in homes, it is believed that the power can be transferred from the *oesoe* grass to living beings and their surrounding world.

Oesoe grass belongs to the species of Pacific Island silver grass (*Miscanthus floridulus* Warb.). This giant wild grass is widely spread on the hills, on riverbanks, and on vast fields around the Saisiyat settlements. It grows slowly but has a strong ability to survive and adapt to any kind of soil. Its long and thin leaves are tough, coarse, and with saw-like edges. Human skin is frequently cut by it and left with obvious incised red marks when people walk through the grass bush. Its attributes of having sharp and edgy leaves as well as its strong survival ability are believed to transform into magical protective forces for the Saisiyat. Furthermore, the grass produces large white inflorescence in midsummer which turns beige in late fall. Its seasonal colour-changing cycle has become an important visual reminder for the upcoming *pas-taai* ritual. Almost every Saisiyat can tell the special cultural meaning of the *oesoe* grass and can tell the differences between *oesoe* grass and other kinds of silver grass which are also common in the wild.

For the Saisiyat, *oesoe* grass has the power to counter the destructive power and attacks brought by the *taai*. Thus, *oesoe* is overwhelmingly used in the long lasting *pas-taai* ritual period within a month as a magical charm to protect people. Practically, the long and thin *oesoe* leaves are used as a grass string which is tied on the protected person's arm, on passages and entrances of houses such as doorways, windows, kitchens, living rooms, or bedrooms, and on precious objects possessed by humans such as TV, refrigerators, washing machines, camera, motorcycles, and cars. Sometimes, small folded *oesoe* knots can be placed in pockets, bags, or other things that have contact with the human body. In the formal ritual, the elders of the ritual host clan would sit in the ritual house to tie and knot *oesoe* grass on the participants. Most people who would come to attend the ritual should go to the ritual house and pay a very small amount of money (normally $NT 10 dollars) to get an *oesoe* grass knot for protection. People who have behaved inappropriately in the ritual need to come to the ritual house to apologize to the *taai* and get an knotted *oesoe* grass from the ritual host to prevent the attacks of *taai* spirits on him.

Other than being a magical charm, the knotted grass is also used as an indispensable device to count and memorize ritual days. When the formal ritual performing dates have been confirmed in the preparatory meeting (called *kakawas*), two knotted *oesoe* strings need to be made and exchanged by two ritual hosting groups in North and South Saisiyat. In the past, these *oesoe* knots were effective counting and mnemonic aides. The knots in the grass string represent for the forthcoming ritual days. The ritual officiator would cut off one piece of knot everyday. When the last knot is removed, it was the day to start the formal ritual performance. This grass-knotting and dating process is called *papuoe*. Though nowadays a modern calendar is used for actual date counting, the knotted *oesoe* grass strings are still exchanged and cut as important symbolic actions. After *papuoe*, the ritual period is formally commenced. Ritual rules should be enacted, ritual songs should be sung, ritual objects should be prepared, and the fire in the ritual house should be set-up and refuelled everyday until the end of the ritual. From this point, the *oesoe* grass is considered as a medium to transform the social temporal space from the domain of the mundane into the domain of the ritual. However, as a focused resource to transmit protective power and transform *taai* forces, various analogies and physical attributes of the grass have been used as indexes in ritual performance. The complicated natural and cultural correlations are perceived, understood, and believed. At an operational level, the employment of *oesoe* grass is centred on physical contacts and bodily engagements. Thus, we could say that the *oesoe* grass is much more than a metaphoric symbol; it also actively constructs linkages in a contiguous way.

To some extent, plant attributes derived from the local environment constitute a solid foundation on which the perceptions of the Saisiyat have been based. It is apparent that plants provide rich resources for the Saisiyat to observe, to handle, to recognize, and to understand. In addition to *ka-di-azem* and *oe'soe* that I mentioned earlier, a variety of plant metaphors such as the plum tree (*aelim*), the fragrant maple tree (*rala'*), the Taiwanese Myrsinaceae tree (*bongol*), the Taiwanese alder (*sibok*), and others are sophisticatedly used in legends, ritual practices, speech verses, and songs.

Sometimes, contrasting qualities of two similar plants have been emphasized to convey the message of contrasting social relations. For instance, the leaves of mountain banana and mountain palm are frequently compared by elders, which are used to signify the irreversible conflict between the *taai* and the Saisiyat. [11] According to some elders, the leaf shape of mountain palm and mountain banana were the same in the past. Both leaves are flat and in a complete piece. However, on the day that the Saisiyat irritated the *taai*, the *taai* angrily departed and tore the leaves of the mountain palm tree into tasselled pieces; in the meantime, the *taai* cursed the Saisiyat that their fate would be like the leaves of the mountain palm tree. The metaphor of broken and divergent leaf shape fully expresses the worry of Saisiyat elders on keeping the Saisiyat society as a unified whole. Again, their detailed observation was focused on the physical qualities of tree leaves and was applied in understanding and representing the crisis being experienced by the Saisiyat society. In this way, plant attributes are powerfully transferred and mapped into a social context.

(3) Animal Blood and the Need for Conflict Cleansing

In the Saisiyat ritual system, another key theme which serves as the counterpart of life enhancing is conflict cleansing. The message of cleansing is transmitted mainly through a set of animated natural symbols such as running water, flowing blood, and screams. In the ritual of *sasiyos* which makes animal sacrifice to cleanse conflicts between different social groups, it expresses clearly the associations between running water, animal blood, and screams. In the thought of the Saisiyat, misfortunes and disasters could be developed through accumulated hatred derived from disputes, fights, or killings between different clans among the Saisiyat or between the Saisiyat and other ethnic groups.[12] The conflicts and the

---

[11] Some elders say that two types of Saisiyat clan dancing flags, *kirakil* and *rinring'ara* actually depict these two kinds of tree leaves. But, not many Saisiyat people are aware of this hidden symbolic meaning now.

[12] The animal sacrifice is only used to cleanse ancestral hatred and disputes between particlans or between cultural groups. Personal arguments or individual disputes are usually reconciled through *sin-sinamoel*. It is usually held simultaneously with the practice of communal rituals. In the process, the conflict-engaged person would carry a bottle of rice wine, a few coins, or some shell beads and present these materials to the ritual host. After the ritual host speaks to the ancestors, a cup of wine is shared together by the ritual host and the guilty person. Thus, the conflict is settled.

hatred caused by such could form strong destructive powers which keep on transmitting negative essence to descendants, unless they are cleansed. The ritual of *sasiyos* is held irregularly when social and spatial boundaries are to be crossed or serious ancestral conflicts are recalled, normally in cases of settling a marriage and relocating to a new place. Actually, in cyclically practiced Saisiyat annual rituals or rites of passages, animal sacrifice and conflict cleansing are rarely practiced.[13]

In *sasiyos*, animal sacrifice plays the pivotal role in deciding the success of the ritual. Nowadays, pig or chicken is the most frequently used animal sacrifice. Chicken is used for cleansing less serious conflicts, while pig is used for general situations. However, for extremely serious conflicts, the elders believe that a wild pig must be used as sacrifice.[14] Anyhow, it is important here that sacrificed animals must be killed alive by the riverside. In addition, the blood of the sacrificed animal has to be poured on and must flow away with the running water. The whole process is composed of a series of symbolic actions and sensory messages. First, the officiator of *sasiyos*, usually a senior man invited from a third party clan, speaks loudly to ancestors and participants, points out the conflicts that need to be removed, and expresses the wishes of reconciliation between the offspring of the two conflict-engaged clans. After such, he picks the knife and stabs the throat of the sacrificed animal. The speed of blood spitting and the loudness of animal screaming are two critical factors that judge the success of cleansing. If there is no sign of obvious blood outburst or desperate scream of the animal, it means that the hatred and conflicts are not cleansed. In this case, another sacrifice has to be made again. After the blood and the screaming has

---

[13] Exceptionally, a similar animal sacrifice is also used in the *a'uwal* (heavenly ceremony)–a major year-cycle ritual held once every two years, when a larger scale *a'uwal* is given. A pig has to be killed alive by male members of the ritual host clan, the Sawan clan, at *linosaspon* by the river junction near Nang-zhuang. The animal's blood has to be poured on and must flow away with the running river water. Then the killed pig is burnt, cleaned, and divided. A part of the pig meat is saved as an offering for the following day when the millet is offered in the site of the ritual hosts' house. The other parts are boiled in ginger water and are shared by the ritual participants by the riverbank. There is no clear explanation why this ritual uses sacrifice. Perhaps, it is related to its transformation and the combination of five rituals from the past; among these, one was stopped in order to cleanse the epidemic diseases that came from the outside.

[14] However, this situation rarely occurred. No wild pig was used in the period from 1996 to 2004.

indicated that the sacrificed animal is accepted by the ancestors, the officiator starts to invite male representatives from both conflict-engaged clans to speak. The representatives openly express their apologies and regrets and drink a cup of wine together to express their reconciliation. As to the meat of the sacrificed animal, the pork has to be shared and eaten by the riverbank, but chicken meat is regarded as polluted and has to be thrown away after the ritual.

The ritual of *sasiyos* shows that the meanings of animal sacrifice are conveyed through dynamic material and sensory interactions. The natural phenomena of running water, flowing blood, and animal screams communicate messages of driving away accumulated conflicts and hatred. In addition, the set of natural signs are interplayed with levelled metaphors. For examples, the life of the animal to be sacrificed is the life of the human to be saved; blood and running water are also references that signify pollution and purification. However, the general principles evoked by these natural symbols of conflict cleansing are similar to those of life enhancing. The focused natural things which have physical attributes expressing stronger life forces can be applied to humans, while the focused natural things which have attributes that represent destructive essences need to be driven away.

In short, the above discussions show that the natural world is a basic domain from which many analogical connections in Saisiyat ritual practices are derived. These analogies are also heavily intertwined with perceptions of material qualities and bodily engagements, like other categories of Saisiyat ritual symbols. In the process of activating these natural symbols and transmitting attached cultural messages, the substantial properties of natural materials or their surrounding environment formulate the analogical basis to derive energy and forces from the natural domain to human domain.

5.4 Interlinked and Interchangeable Material Messages

By examining the contexts of reproduction, representation, and manipulation of different material symbols in Saisiyat rituals, I would argue that they are not

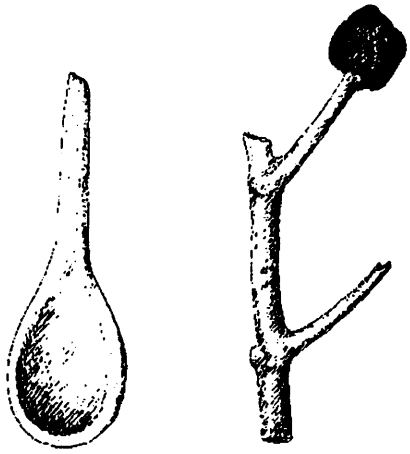
only repetitively used but are also requested or desired as target objects or subjects in ritual processes. They play key roles in transmitting cultural messages and serve as memory foci in collective representations. Among them, three categories of material symbols — inherited sacred objects, ritual foods, and natural symbols – are distinctive. Each category has developed a unique emphasis on material forms, rules of operations, and associated ritual themes in relating to its physical features, sensory elaborations, and bodily movements. At the static and surface level, these three categories of ritual materials that are roughly divided here seem to represent a paradigm of structuralism by opposing and contrasting the three separated domains.

Inherited objects : ritual foods : natural symbols = culture : transforms : nature

Inherited objects as artefacts seem to represent the domain of culture; ritual foods as processed edible natural resources seem to represent the domain of transformation; natural symbols as things and phenomena derived from natural world seem to represent the domain of nature. However, these domains are not isolated and static. At a dynamic and core level in ritual operations, focused and highlighted ritual materials are fluidly interlinked and interchanged across the boundaries of divided domains. The ability of these material symbols in fluid transformation and interlinking is based on the wide range of physical, material, or corporal features embedded in tangible forms and solid substances. Certain physical qualities or substantial features of these ritual materials are identified and elaborated in various sensory domains and are further expanded through levels of metaphorical and metonymic transformations. With the mediation of sensory experiences and inter-referential material indexes, superficial differences can be transcended, and concentric linkages can be created. Borrowing an inspiring concept from Gell, these material indexes play key roles as 'invariants under transformations' (Gell 1998:167-168).

A significant case of cross boundary transformation is expressed in the focused ritual materials of *pas-baki* (ancestral spirit ceremony). In the past, this ritual was centred on the inherited sacred ancestral basket; nowadays, it was transformed to focus on pounding sticky rice cake with a wooden pestle and a mortar. According to elders' accounts and historical records, an ancestral basket

was preserved and inherited by each *pas-baki* ritual group (descent group of a clan in a settlement). This woven rattan basket sometimes was called *bushi* (literally means 'woven basket'), sometimes referred to as *sa'ang* (literally means 'honeycomb'), and some addressed it as a *kakeroan* (things left from ancestors). It was regarded as the most sacred symbolic object in the *pas-baki*, which not only objectified the inheritance of ritual power, but also functioned as a magical tool. Inside of this basket was a piece of honeycomb (*sa'ang*) and a wooden ritual spoon (*kapazemos*) (see Figure 18). In nonritual days, this basket was secretly hung on the east side of the keeper's house; no one should touch it. Two days a year in late spring and early winter when the *pas-baki* ritual was to be practiced, it was taken down and used. In a very secret process that cannot be seen by outsiders, the ritual officiator (usually the keeper and headman of the specific ritual group) first employed the *kapazemos* in the basket to collect water and moistened his index finger to touch the lip of every member, male and female. After such, every male member was asked to touch the sticky honeycomb (*sa'ang*). It was believed that by touching the honeycomb, the binding power will transfer from the honeycomb to the human body and then work to unite everyone together.



(Resource: Sayama 1921)

Figure 18. Inherited Sacred Objects Contained in the Ancestral Baskets Before

However, due to tremendous socio-historical changes, this important and indispensable ancestral basket was not inherited by majority of the *pas-baki* ritual groups. According to the Saisiyat, most ancestral baskets were taken or thrown away during the Japanese colonization and Christian domination periods,

following the serious discouragement and prohibition of practicing such superstitious ritual. At present, only one ritual group (*Babai* clan in the *Raromoan*) has kept their ancestral basket, and has been using it in their ritual practice.[15] Despite the loss of ancestral baskets or sacred symbols, this did not stop the Saisiyat from practicing their *pas-baki* rituals, nor did it weaken their connections with their ancestors. The message of stickiness derived from the honeycomb in the inherited ancestral basket is now transformed to be derived from preparing ritual food. Nowadays, male members taking turns to pound sticky rice is an indispensable process in the ritual of *pas-baki*. When they pound sticky rice to make *tinaobun* (sticky rice cake), the mortar and pestles used for pounding become sacred; no outsiders should touch them at that moment. The key material resources contain critical powers that shift from the inherited ancestral basket to the sticky rice, the mortar, and the pestle because of the similar quality of stickiness that they generate. Thus, when the ancestral basket is lost, other new resources with similar attributes could replace it. It is the stickiness of honeycomb as well as of sticky rice that constructs transformative ties linking inherited sacred symbols and ritual foods. The stickiness quality embedded in things of two different domains can be perceived and compared, and analogical relations can be derived mainly via the sense of touch. This explains why touching honeycomb and grasping sticky rice cake with one's bare fingers are important processes in ritual practices. For these reasons, I would argue that coping with historical processes, the focused ritual power has shifted from a more secretly concealed domain in the ancestral basket to a more publicly displayed domain in ritual foods. It is the linkages derived from substantial qualities perceived by the sense of touch that transcend surface differences. In this way, although ritual symbols have been transformed, hidden analogical connections still generate relatedness to bridge the Saisiyat people with their past and to effect sensible continuity in the form of great changes.

---

[15] Even the only group which has preserved their ancestral basket does not have the *sa'ang* in the basket. In the ritual practice, they still need to produce a special kind of sticky rice cake to be touched by every clan member.

More complicatedly, one material symbol could sometimes have many different attributes elaborated and used as linkages in various domains. In the case of the ritual manipulation of a pig, we can find dynamic transformations and inter-references among messages at various levels. As an important medium of animal sacrifice, a pig's life is frequently sacrificed in order to counter destructive forces that threaten human life. As a major resource of ritual food, pork is the favourite animal meat that is widely used in offerings, communal eating, and gift exchange. In addition, since the flesh of a pig is usually divided and distributed, the action of dividing and cutting, to a certain point, is interlinked with the concept of division of a social body. In the creation myth of the Saisiyat, the origin of their society and the entire human society was derived from dividing and cutting a human body as I have described in Chapter 3.

However, in some cases, one meaning could be repeatedly referred to by various material symbols from different perspectives. For examples, the meaning of enhancing life essence is equated with the grass of *ka-di-azem*, the running spring water, the rising sun, the east direction, the lifting up of the body, the touching of the shoulders of sacred objects' carriers. They are interlinked or are interchangeable through divergent operations in different contexts. It is important to note that the material forms, physical qualities, sensory elaborations, and bodily experiences that are repetitively represented and enacted in ritual contexts constantly transmit cultural messages, activate social framework, and strengthen social relations.

Considering Saisiyat ritual materials as important inter-referential resources that have emerged in a long-term process, I summarized a few remarkable features of their mode of communication and transmission which are as follows: (1) These ritual materials are essentially tangible, detachable, and portable; they are able to provide transportable linkages by way of moving; (2) These materials convey nonverbal messages in a more loosely structured and fluidly connected manner as compared with verbal media; (3) They are transformative and polysemous sign-devices which link things in different categories through analogical associations and extensions based on their multifarious qualities, shapes, structures, colours, textures, and forms; in the process, various layered

references or meanings are condensed, combined, and mixed; (4) They are bodily-enacted and bodily-centred, which highly rely on practices and experiences through sensory processes of touching, tasting, seeing, hearing, and other praxis.

To sum it up, material symbols and analogical connections are widely employed in Saisiyat rituals. Whether in forms of sacred artefacts, food, or natural symbols, they are mutably and fluidly interlinked with others in either coherent or ambivalent ways. They construct transformative linkages based on focused physical properties. These properties are repetitively identified and transferred to convey a contrasting set of notions about individuals, ancestors, and social relations. In this regard, elaborate Saisiyat ritual materials are the media that facilitate to cross the boundaries of the sacred and the mundane, of nature and culture, and of things and persons. These materials formulate ritual themes and present sensory stimuli for the recall, retrieval, and representation of memories of the past (cf. Tilley 1999). With these characteristics, I would claim that Saisiyat ritual performances express a strong tendency to materialize and sensualize a mode of memory. A sense of creative continuity is thus derived from related physical properties embedded in material symbols through their incorporation in practices. Significantly, material analogies, sensory stimuli, and embodied experiences are interlinked to effect transformative relatedness and creative connectedness.

Photo 5-1. Procession of the *sinadun* flag in the *pas-taai* of 1996 at the South Saisiyat ritual site (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 1996, Donghe)

Photo 5-2. Procession of the *paputol* whip in the *pas-taai* of 1996 at the South Saisiyat ritual site (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 1996, Donghe)

Photo 5-3. The *kirakil* flag carried by a dancer from the *Sawan* clan in the *pas-taai* of 1996 at the South Saisiyat ritual site (photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 1996, Donghe)

Photo 5-4. *Tabagnasan* sounding objects carried by dancers in the *pas-taai* of 1996 at the South Saisiyat ritual site (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 1996, Donghe)

Photo 5-5. The sacred object of *a'uwal* inherited by the *Sawan* clan is concealed in a closed ritual house at the settlement of *Daping* (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2004, Penglai)

Photo 5-6. The sacred object of *baki-sorou* inherited by the *Hayawan* clan is concealed in a small shrine and surrounded by Chinese gods and goddess in the Wu-fu temple at Toufeng (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2002, Toufeng)

Photo 5-7. The sacred object of *tinato* inherited by the *Tautauwazai* clan is contained in a woven basket and concealed in a small shrine placement on the rack in a closed room (Photographed by Wen-lin Chen, 1995, Taai)

Photo 5-8. The sacred object of *baki-boon* inherited by the *Babai* clan is concealed in a small shrine placement on a rack in a closed room (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2001, Donghe)

Photo 5-9. Food offerings consisting of pork, sticky-rice cake, and rice wine is popularly presented in many Saisiyat rituals (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 1996, Penglai)

Photo 5-10. Offering millet in the ritual of *a'uwal* (praying to heaven) (Photographed by Shui-sheng Geng, 1995, Penglai)

Photo 5-11. Presenting divided sticky-rice cakes in a ritual of *maSpazau* (natal-home -visiting when the children are grown-ups) (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 1997, Penglai)

Photo 5-12. Dividing and distributing pork and sticky-rice cakes as food -gifts in a ritual of *mantamago* (engagement) at the settlement of *Raromoan* (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 1996, Donghe)

Photo 5-13. Sharing sticky-rice cake and pork with bare hands among members of the *Babai* clan at *Raromoan* during the lunchtime of *pas-baki* (worship of ancestors) (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2001, Donghe)

Photo 5-14. Sharing Chinese-style food during the lunch feast of *mazau* (natal-home-visiting after the death of the married partner) at *Raromoan* (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2001, Donghe)

Photo 5-15. Tying *oesoe* grass to the body for protection in the ritual of pas-*taai* (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 1996, Donghe)

Photo 5-16. Pasting *ka-ti-azem* grass on a boy's head to add life essence in the ritual of *maSpazau* (natal-home-visiting when all children are grown ups) (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2002, Penglai)

Chapter 6
Incorporating Practices, Bodily Experiences, and the Substantial Forces of Connecting

As discussed in the preceding chapters, rituals are public performances that the Saisiyat enthusiastically participate in. The frequency and complexity of ritual practices reflect the importance of cultural expression and social communication among them. Rituals are continually performed to further enhance and preserve the essence of being a Saisiyat. They generate social relations and normative orders by providing connections and linkages with the spirits of the past (*tatinii*). Though many obvious alternations and transformations have occurred in accordance with the shifting socio-political tensions in history, the Saisiyat still perceive rituals as *kasbongan* or precious ancestral traditions. To some extent, ritual practices introduce critical resources to transcend discontinuities and ambiguities in context, thus to construct collective memories and social identities.

After analyzing various rituals practiced in different periods, I would argue, in particular, that ritual representations of the Saisiyat are focused on action and objectification. Many ritual objects and actions serve as focal points to attract attentions and stimulate recollections. These tangible and non-verbal devices operate as inevitable links to the *tatinii*. The material and kinaesthetic qualities of these devices give greater capacities to bind the Saisiyat. They serve as physical indexes to ancestral 'prototypes' or 'origins' based on multifarious substantial qualities and transformative analogical implications. However, the signification of material objects and acts lies on the recognition of people and is developed in relation to previous experiences. Thus, the effectiveness of these devices for connecting to the past depends on the characteristics of embodied experiences. From this point, I could say that the pattern of material and physical signification explicates the distinctive means of connection and identity construction among the Saisiyat.

In his inspiring work entitled, *Outline of A Theory of Practices*, Bourdieu (1972) has proposed the concept of 'habitus' to interpret how our dispositions,

ethos and tastes are organized from everyday practices; and suggests habitus as a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which integrate past experiences and functions at every moment 'as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions'; thus, it is 'the principle of the continuity and regularity which objectivism discerns in the social world without being able to give them a rational basis' (Bourdieu [1972]1977: 82). Based on these assumptions, Connerton (1989) suggests that amongst three types of memory, personal, cognitive, and habit-memory, the last is the most fundamental to constitute the collective memory. In his view, culturally determined foci or 'mental landmarks', such as landscapes, boundary markers, monuments, as well as performative actions are different types of memory sites (Connerton 1989). Furthermore, in terms of performative practices, similar images or properties of the past are conveyed and sustained by repeated actions of its participants. In this way, the habit-memory is 'acting out' and sedimented by the individual in the process of 'incorporating practices'. Based on the assumption of habitus and habit-memory, many recent studies have further explored the significant role of practices, bodily experiences and formalized expressions in generating social memory (Whitehouse 1992, Csordas 1994, Munn 1995, Lambek 1996, Stoller 1995, Seremetakis 1994, Sutton 2001).

As a marginal and hybrid community located in a historical border like that of the Saisiyat's, ritual practices present and provide substantial but dynamic resources in responding to the tensions brought by immediacy and transcendence. The focus on physical qualities and bodily experiences shape a distinctive sensory preference for the Saisiyat to recognize and realize the world. Many ritual objects and actions which are highlighted in the ritual events work as materialized memory foci to provoke previous memories and construct new memories for future recollections. In this sense, we can say that the formalized expressions in the Saisiyat ritual are revealed as embodiments. Bodily experience centres on feeling and knowing. The principles of relating and the propensities of remembering are also enacted and perceived by the body. Through repetitive ritual practices and repeatable bodily experiences, people of the Saisiyat are attuned to a set of transferable images, substances and perceptions which connect them to the past without emphasizing on verbal explanations.

In order to approach Saisiyat ritual practices as a process of objectification and active transformation which take concrete forms and properties in relating to the past, this chapter seeks to study the impacts of incorporating practices on bodily experiences, multi-sensory perceptions, and collective memories. The first two sections of this chapter describes and analyses a case of *pas-taai* ritual. I would elaborate on the dynamic roles of actors, materials, actions and thematic messages, from which we can further examine the relationships between general formal structures, spatial-temporal sequence, and individual ritual enactment. The third section attempts to explore the roles of the body as a central locus of acting and accumulating experiences in rituals. The fourth analyses the inherent properties of verbal expressions in ritual practices, such as words and sounds in ritual verses and songs, and especially focuses on the signifying power of substantial and sensational qualities in the verbal forms. The final section emphasizes the distinctive mode of recognizing and remembering among the Saisiyat that derived from a special technology of connecting featured on creative relatedness and embodiments. Although my approach draws heavily on the lessons of material culture, and takes seriously its concern with forms and substances, I hope the insights won from the close analysis of actions and objectification can be brought back to illuminate certain problems of social memory, transmission, and identity.

6-1. Incorporating Practice: A Case of *Pas-taai* Ritual

The Saisiyat perform many rituals by way of habit but not because those rituals are cognitively persuasive. The habituation is gradually constructed by the way of operating rituals. Many ritual actions are done without explanations, in compliance with 'ancestral ways'. In order to give a more detailed picture of how ritual objects and acts are mediated as memory foci through habituation and incorporating practices, I shall attempt to give an account of the *pas-taai* ritual which dates back to 1996. Based on this ritual event, those ritual symbols, bodily actions, sensory emphasis, and intermediated messages that were dynamically presented in the process will be illustrated.

The *pas-taai* ritual is the most expressive, dramatic, and picturesque ritual

held by the Saisiyat every two years. It contains the most far-reaching sociological implications, and involves all Saisiyat, men, women, and children in the performance. It also entices ten to twenty thousand tourists to attend, including many researchers in various fields to study (Lin1956, Chao1987, Cheng 1987; Hu & Hsieh 1993, Chen & Chang 1994, Lim 2002). Compared to other rituals, it is the only Saisiyat ritual that involves the entire population of Saisiyat, employs the greatest number of ritual symbols, and includes public dancing and singing. Its ritual period runs for more than a month and could be divided into three stages: preparatory, public performance, and post performance. In the stage of public performance which goes on for six days and five nights, it integrates people of different genders, ages, clans, and cultural backgrounds, as well as elements that are both material and immaterial, natural and supernatural, to create the most spectacular ritual scenery. Nowadays, it is held separately in two ritual sites, one in the South Saisiyat (in the *raromoan* settlement) and another in the North Saisiyat (in the *saiyahoru* settlement). However, the formal public performance is initiated one day earlier in the South Saisiyat to show its leading position.

The year 1996 marked a 10th-year anniversary of the *pas-taai* ritual (known as *somadun*), which was a special event that involves the presentation of a symbolic flag--*sinadun*. I arrived at the ritual site of South Saisiyat a week before the public performance was staged in late November. Many young men and women were back from cities and the atmosphere in the village was livened up by chatting, drinking, and singing. At this time, the elders were anxious and nervous because the last 10th-year ceremony held in 1986 did not run very smoothly due to some practical mistakes with the *sinadun* flag (10th-year flag) and the physical arrangement of the ritual site. According to the Saisiyat, such mistakes made *taai* spirits very angry, and thus caused heavy rains to fall during the ritual singing and dancing periods, and quite a few Saisiyat people were 'caught' by the *taai*. In the end, two senior ritual officiators knelt down for an hour in the middle of the rain to ask for forgiveness. Thus, that year, the elders who oversaw the forthcoming ritual performance were doubly cautious to ensure that every detail of the ritual was correct.

The first preparatory stage was initiated by a gathering called *kakawas* ('praying') and *papoeoe* ('knotting *osoe* grass').[1] On this day, elders of the host clan (*Titijun* clan) and the male representatives of each clan congregated in the house of the head officiator's house to discuss and make arrangements for the forthcoming event.[2] After making food offerings to spirits and an exchange of *oesoe* grass knots between the two host groups (the Titijun sub-groups) from the South Saisiyat and the North Saisiyat, the dates of the formal public performance were decided on and invitations to the *taai* spirits were officially sent. Then, the head officiator led all the participants to sing a ritual song called *gagaro'i*, which signified the release of the singing taboo of *pas-taii* songs to the Saisiyat world.

A few weeks later, another larger-scale preparatory meeting called *ajalaho* was arranged at the riverbank near Nangzhuang Town Center in the South Saisiyat. In the early morning of this day, people from different households in different settlements congregated to negotiate the ritual event. A working committee was organized to manage administrative tasks such as accounting, documenting, site cleaning, safety assurance, transportation control, police coordination, and so on. Before taking off, elders of the host clan led participants to sing a few more ritual songs and distributed an *oesoe* grass knot to each household (this process is called *umesing*). This distributed grass knot had to be kept in the house until the close of the ritual period.

The formal public performance was started with the making of *la'abus* in the South Saisiyat. In the morning of November 20, people from different households and settlements came into the ritual house one by one to make a confession (*hemaon*) and pay fines (*sinsinnamul*) to the elders of the host clan (the *Titijun*

---

[1] Usually, *papoe'oe* is held one month ahead the formal ritual performances. However, during the tenth-year ritual, *papoe'oe* has been practiced a month earlier than usual in order to have longer preparatory time.

[2] The *Papoe'oe* is held either in the houses of ritual officiators in the South Saisiyat (*raromoan* settlement) or in the North Saisiyat (*taai* settlement). The ritual had been divided to take place in two separate locations during the Japanese colonization period. Nowadays, the Saisiyat use the calendar to count ritual dates, the symbolic process of knotting and exchanging *osoe* grass to confirm the main ritual date. More than nine knots were made on the string; each knot represents ten days, which would be cut off every ten days for memorizing the ritual commencing date. The knots on the string for the North Saisiyat had one more knot, because the ritual practicing date in the North would be one day later. Many elders explain that the North ritual group is younger and has lately established during the Japanese period when the ritual practices were done in two locations.

clan) and the keeper of the ritual site (an elder of *Babai* clan) who sat around the fireplace. By doing so, mistakes, conflicts and negative acts made by the Saisiyat were believed to be removed.[3] At the same time, six slaughtered pigs were set on the ground, encircled by *oesoe* grass in front of the ritual house. Many men from different households worked to chop the pork into square chunks. At noon, the head ritual officiator and representatives of each clan congregated to offer a small amount of pork, sticky-rice cakes and rice wine to the *tatinii*. Other pork chunks were evenly distributed to each household for the welcoming feast for the *taai* spirits.

During the second day, at about two o'clock in the morning, the host clan (*Titijun* clan) first processed their *pak-sao* feast to welcome the arriving spirits.[4] Then, each clan followed to make a separate *pak-sao* feast in their compound.[5] I participated in the *pak-sao* given by the *Babai* sub-clan group from the *lalai* settlement. At around four o'clock, *umao a boon*, a senior man in this ritual group, escorted two young daughters-in-law to the field to collect fresh *oesoe* grass. The grass was brought back and tied onto the house and onto the body of each person to protect them from the attack of the *taai*. When the first ray of sunlight came out at around six, a wooden mortar tied with *ossoe'* grass was rolled out from the house to the front yard. All male members lined up in front of the door, faced the east and sang '*rara'ol*' to welcome the arrival of the *taai* spirits. In the meantime, two daughters-in-law poured sticky-rice grains into the mortar for pounding, and de-husking. When the song was finished, the husks were fully removed. The sticky-rice was further steamed and pounded to make *tinaobun* sticky-rice cakes. At lunchtime, these freshly made *tinaobun* were served with boiled pork and rice wine as offerings to the *taai* and ancestors. All group members also shared the food while using bare fingers and squatting on the

---

[3] These ritual officiators just sat quietly listening to confessions and receiving *sinsinnamul* payment (usually wine, shell-beads or coins). Then, they tied *oesoe'* grass knots onto the confessor's arm and shared a cup of rice wine with the confessor to release their misconducts without saying anything.

[4] *Pak-sao* is usually practiced privately away from outsiders.

[5] Sawan is the only *sinayhou* group that do not practice *pak-sao* in the *pas-taai*. Most Saisiyat could not explain the reason, but they often referred to ancestral laws. However, *baki agin*, an elderly male member of the Sawan, told me in 1996, that their group was a plain indigenous group who joined the Saisiyat much later.

ground.

In the evening after the *pak-sao* feast, the first night of collective dancing and singing known as '*kish-raolan*' was performed to welcome the *taai* spirits and ancestors. When the sun had set and the fire on the dancing ground was fixed, elders of the host clan slowly led the congregation dancing out of the ritual house. Then, one by one, all Saisiyat men and women came to join. The dancing group moved counter clockwise in circles like a coiled snake. On the first night, only three ritual songs for inviting and receiving spirits could be repeatedly sung. Participants were not asked to wear traditional ritual costumes, though some *kirakil* flags and *tabaa'sang* sounding equipment were carried by them. The singing and dancing continued till the first ray of sunlight appeared the following morning.

In contrast to the serious and sacred practices at the centre of the ritual ground, the outer cycle of ritual ground was full of other activities. Since the ritual ground was on a high hilltop where transportation was not very convenient, many Saisiyat families had brought their tents, pots, and necessities to live temporarily around the ritual site during ritual performing days. On the left side of the ritual house, many Saisiyat congregated with their clan members in a large resting post made for Saisiyat participants to take a short break. In addition to them, a lot of tourists and curios people also arrived and camped nearby. For this great amount of potential customers, more than a hundred temporary food and crafts stalls contracted by the town hall to external vendors were lined up in the western region of the ritual site like a night market. The bright electric light, the noisy selling, eating, and drinking sounds created cacophony of sound in contrast to the solemn atmosphere at the ritual ground.

The third day, known as '*kish-tomal*', was considered the happiest day for singing and dancing to entertain *taai* spirits. In the daytime, a senior man of the host clan made a *paputol* snake whip privately in the woods. At noontime, the 10th-year *sinadun* flag made by the *Tatai'si* clan (the *sinadun* host clan that year) was brought to the dancing ground and placed on a bamboo platform at the east side of the ritual house, surrounded by many *oesoe* grass knots. Once the *sinnadun* flag had been erected, men of the *Tatai'si, Sayna'ase* and *Tautauwazai*

clans, the three clans who inherited rights and obligations to host and assist the ritual flag, stayed by the flag without taking a break. They anxiously protected the ritual flag from being touched by others and accidentally falling down. In the evening, all Saisiyat participants put on their red and white ritual costumes. All *kirakil* flags made by different clans were held by young male clan members. More than 10 colourful *kirakil* flags were danced and flown over the ritual ground, drawing great attention and affection from their fellow clan members and other spectators. In the meantime, those who carried the *tabagnasan* sounding equipment lined up in the outer circle of the dancing and singing public, moved slowly and smoothly to produce crispy cracking sounds.

In the middle of the ritual singing and dancing, two powerful sacred objects were taken out to make short processions. At an interval of about one hour, a carrier of *paputol* snake whip escorted by two rows of young men from the host clan moved towards the centre of ritual ground in a reverent manner. The whip was coiled and raised up to the young man's forehead with both his hands. He whipped the *paputol* for a few minutes; then each of the escorts took turns to whip it too. In the middle of the whipping, many Saisiyat children were brought by their parents to touch the shoulder of the whipper. Moreover, the *sinadun* flag was also raised to make processions on the ritual ground at an interval of about two hours. The flag had to be carried by a man of the *sinadun* host clan to make three circles surrounding the performing group in each procession. That year, the *sinadun* host clan, the *Tatai'si* clan, was a very small clan with few male members; thus an old man who was over 65 years old carried the *sinadun* flag in most processions. The old flag carrier walked with difficulty as a tall and heavy flag was tied to his back. Two assistants nervously escorted the swaying flag carrier and protected the flag from being touched by others and from falling down. However, many Saisiyat chased the carrier and touched his shoulder to acquire spiritual forces and blessings from the flag. At that moment, the atmosphere became very intense and chaotic. More than 20,000 tourists who crammed into the small ritual site earlier during the weekend night pushed from outside and tried to watch and participate. Although the ritual committee had announced that non-Saisiyat visitors could only join the dancing and singing group after midnight, many tourists grew very excited and impatient. The Youth Scouting Team organized by the Saisiyat young

men lined up to stop the advance. Thus, shouting and yelling accompanied the processions.

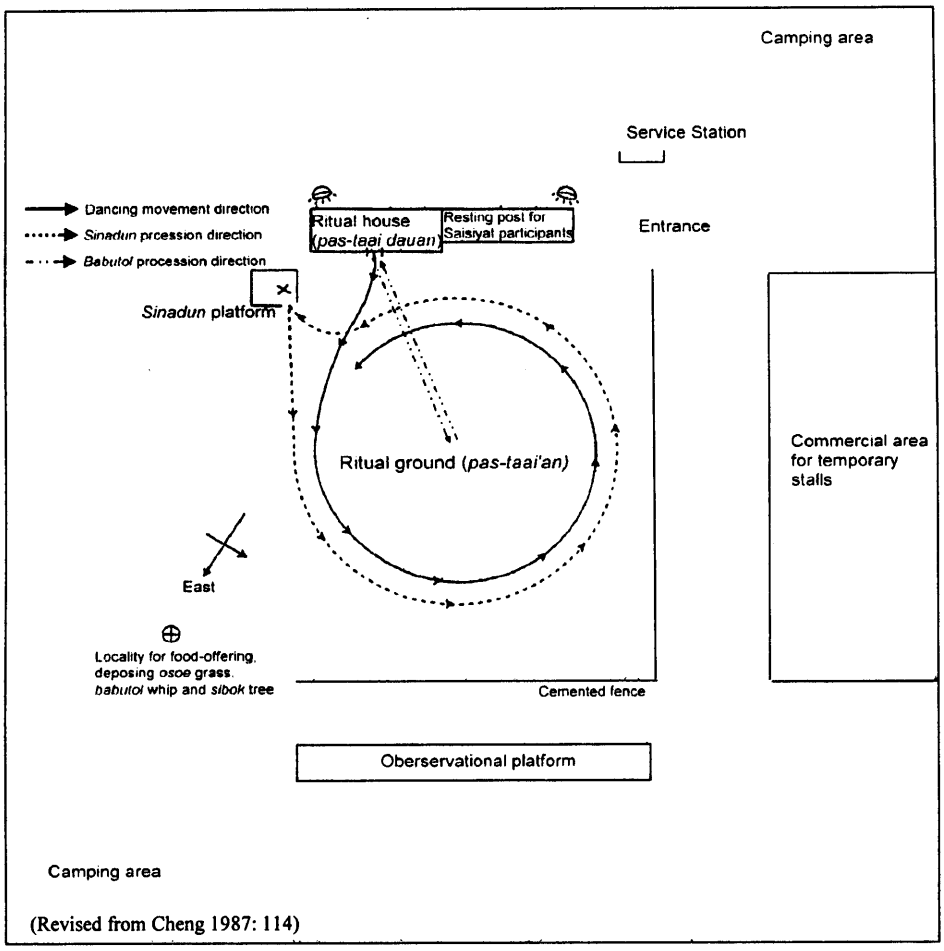


Figure 19. Spatial Relations and Moving Directions in the *pas-taai* Dancing Ground at the Settlement of *Raromoan* in 1996

At about 12 o'clock midnight, all dancing and singing was suddenly stopped. All Saisiyat participants stood still and faced towards the east, and all *kirakil* flags lined up in front of the ritual house beside the *sinadun* flag. At this moment, a wooden mortar was slowly rolled out of the ritual house and placed at the centre of the dancing ground. The snake whip was made to stand in front of the mortar facing east. All of a sudden, lights were shut down; every one stood silently in the misty night. The head officiators *(kap-aza'an ka Titijun)* started to lead all Saisiyat to sing a ritual song called '*wawaen*' which expressed the paradoxical relations between the Saisiyat and the *taai.* The entwined feelings of anxiety, betrayal, and loss were strongly and sensationally expressed by the sorrowful melodies and lyrics of the song. After the heavy and sorrowful song, the leading ritual host

stepped onto the mortar and made a short ritual speech to all Saisiyat. He urged the Saisiyat to stay together and unite, and asked them never to forget their ancestral traditions no matter how and where they would be. After this short break, collective dancing and singing started again and continued till next morning.

On the following evening, a process called '*papatnawasak*' was held to reconcile with the *taai* and to remind them of their departure time. Again, people gathered in the ritual ground as the full moon appeared in the sky. They kept singing and dancing till the rising sun appeared. The *kirakil* flags and *tabangsan* sounding equipment were kept dancing; the *babutol* whip and *sinadun* flag kept making interval processions. However, the songs sounded more sorrowful which expressed the contradictory feelings of the Saisiyat and their desires to reconcile with the *taai* after midnight.

The fourth and last night of public singing and dancing was for the '*papa'osa*' or sending of the *taai* spirits away. Again, the Saisiyat congregated in the evening to sing and dance from dusk till dawn. When the morning was getting closer and closer, the pace of singing and dancing became frenetic following the hasty melody of the '*papa'osa*' ritual song. When the sky got bright at around six in the morning, the collective singing and dancing was suddenly stopped. A series of complicated ritual steps were made to send the *taai* spirits away. First, two daughters-in-law came out of the ritual house carrying some taro leaves wrapped millet packages to serve as take-away food for the *taai* spirits. They ran quickly to the east end of the ritual site, threw the wrapped millet packages into the air, then returned to the ritual house and closed the door immediately. A minute later, the door opened again, and two daughters-in-law brought the remaining millet cake packages out to share the fortune of the host clan with other participants. A senior man of the host clan also brought out a bundle of peach leaves and distributed them to the attendants. Afterwards, all *oesoe'* grass knots tied on the ritual house were removed.

This was followed by three other ritual processes: '*pas rausau*' (cutting the bamboo top), '*busama*'(spreading mud), and '*mari ka sibok*' (breaking the Taiwanese alder tree). These three steps emphasized the cooperation between the *sa'pan* (the ritual host clan) and the *a'uma* (other clans). In *pas rausau*, two men

-- one from the *sa'pan* clan, and the other was selected from the *Kaybaybaw* clan that year -- were appointed to cut a bamboo top in nearby woods. After the two went out to perform the *pas rausau*, two other men -- one man from the *sa'pan* and another from the *Minakes* clan that year-- were selected to practice the *busama* ('spreading mud'). They carried a huge bamboo woven tray to the east end of the ritual site, where the head ritual officiator made a small muddy pound. These two *busama* representatives put the bamboo tray into the watery mud, and tied two snake whips (one new and one old) on the each side of the cut bamboo tray. By first moving counter-clockwise, then clockwise, two *busama* representatives moved the mudded tray onto the back of awaiting women and children. It was believed that weak people could acquire life forces to prevent the attack of sickness or recover from sickness through receiving the 'spread mud'.

After finishing the *busama*, two daughters-in-law from the *sa'pan* clan held a handful of removed *oesoe* grass to stand in front of the ritual house by facing east. Five hundred meters behind them, there stood two men who carried the *busama* woven tray. When those two men who were sent to cut bamboo top arrived in the west end of the ritual site, all three groups of people started running to the east and throwing away the *oesoe* grass, the *busama* tray, and the bamboo top successively. When these three groups ran across the ritual ground, all participants each wrapped a stone in peach leaves and threw the wrapped packages towards six running persons. In the meantime, the surrounding Saisiyat yelled and shouted to accelerate the participants' running. It was believed that two daughters-in-law must run fast and must not be caught up with by the following group. These actions represented how destructive forces of *the taai* were chased and sent away by the Saisiyat.

The last and the most significant ritual ending was called the '*mari ka sibok*'('breaking the alder tree'). In doing this, four men -- one from the *sa'pan* clan, and three others from the *a'uma* clans *Hayawan*, *Sawan*, and *Kas'ames* that year-- were sent to cut a thin but straight *sibok* (Taiwanese alder tree) tree trunk in the woods. During the period of waiting for the *sibok* tree (more than 50 minutes), the head officiator (*kale a eteh*) led all Saisiyat young men to line up in several rows in front of the ritual ground. They kept singing '*matano ka sibok*' ('waiting

for the alder tree'), and held each other's hands swaying back and forth like sea waves. Before the real alder tree trunk was brought back to the ritual ground, a bamboo pole was used to represent the alder tree in the jumping and fetching practice. Many *oesoe* grass knots were tied to the pole. All Saisiyat young men were asked one by one to practice jumping and fetching the *oesoe* grass knots from the high mounted bamboo pole.

At around nine in the morning, four appointed men finally brought back a straight tree trunk with *oesoe* grass knots tied to it. This *sibok* tree trunk was again mounted up and the awaiting Saisiyat young men jumped to grasp the *oesoe* grass knots that were tied to the trunk. When most *osoe* grass knots were removed, two men from the *Tataisi* clan (the *sinnadum sa'pan* that year) jumped higher to pull down the entire trunk, and others rushed on to break the trunk into pieces. The last two jumpers were considered as the *sapan* of *pas rinrau* who had fetched a good luck that year; they entered into the ritual house immediately. Other Saisiyat young men excitedly carried the broken alder trunk to the east end and threw it away. This process was the last step of the public performance in the South Saisiyat, which symbolized that the destructive power of *taai* was once again defeated and sent away by the cooperative Saisiyat. People in the ritual site clapped their hands, laughed and sighed with excitement and relaxation after enduring such a long ritual. Members of the host clan happily carried out baskets of sticky-rice cakes and tons of rice wine to celebrate the successful accomplishment with the participants before they went back home. It was the end of the public performance in the South Saisiyat, except for other few post ritual steps to be processed by the ritual host clan and the *sinadun* host clan later on. But, like a resonate repetition, the last ritual process was to be made one day later in the North Saisiyat where the ritual started a day behind. Thus, many people from the South Saisiyat travelled to the North to attend the very last celebration of sending away the *taai* in the North Saisiyat.

6-2. Structured Messages, Experiences, and Reflections

In the above account of *pas-taai* ritual, I depicted a rough picture of the Saisiyat *pas-taai* ritual practices by fragmenting and juxtaposing the entangled persons,

artefacts, verbal performances, temporal-spatial relations, as well as normative orders in this spectacular public event. Although it only depicts fragmented ritual themes and sceneries, the fragmentation is not too far away from the actual individual participation. Everyone takes a small part in each ritual enactment, while no one experiences all happenings of the multi-faceted and long-enduring ritual processes. However, in comparing one *pas-taai* ritual enactment with other *pas-taai* ritual enactments, as well as the generalized *pas-taai* ritual enactment with other kinds of Saisiyat ritual enactments, we can find that similar highlighted ritual themes and sceneries are replicated through associated material significations and bodily enactments. In terms of ancestral images and powers, agents of collective authority are dynamically expressed and experienced through dramatic material and bodily enactments. Thus, doing, experiencing, and knowing are complicatedly entangled processes founded on physical properties, sensory perceptions, and emotional feelings in Saisiyat ritual practices. By replicating tangible elements and actions, the framework of recognizing and realizing the world is gradually shaped and embodied, as ancestral relations and self-consciousness are dynamically objectified.

In analyzing of the *pas-taai* ritual, we can find that normative themes and dramatized scenes are created based on material and bodily interactions. The emphasized messages about the dialectic and paradoxical relationships between the self and others are repeatedly expressed through representing thematic ritual scenes. As objectified and formalized expressions, major ritual themes are carried out based on repeatable acts and materials. In this way, the repeated ritual acts and materials are objective forms that reflect structured ritual messages. Despite the fact that variations appeared in each ritual practice under different conditions, the *pas-taai* ritual in general works to present ancestral messages by a circular logic, which could creatively adjust a context to cultivate identities that it portrays as already existing. In the following figure, I will identify and specify thematic messages and physical indexes such as material objects and actions presented in the *pas-taai* ritual practices.

The extracted ritual themes, messages and formalized indexes reflect several emphasized structural relations that are repetitively played out and experienced

Figure 20. Temporal Sequences and Themes Reproduced in the *pas-taai*

Temporal Sequence		Themes	Messages and Physical Indexes
One or two months before ritual		*kakawas & papuoe*	opening of the *pas-tai* ritual event by tying and exchanging *oesoe* grass knots
One or two weeks before ritual		*Ajalaou*	negotiating ritual arrangements through congregating and making ritual speech at the riverbank
Day 1	Morning	*hemaon & homabes*	opening of public performative stage by making reconciliation with spirits though confessing misbehaviours and asking for forgiveness; making food offerings to ancestors; dividing and distributing pork to each household
Day 2	Morning	*Paksao*	preparing and presenting a special feast to welcome the arriving *taai* spirits by picking and tying fresh *oesoe* grass; rolling wooden mortar to the front yard, pounding sticky-rice, singing to welcome the *taai* to the feast
	Evening	*kish-raolan*	public dancing and singing to welcome the arriving *taai* spirits
Day 3	Morning		
	Daytime		making a new *babutol* whip (and setting up the reproduced *sinadun* flag in the 10th-year ritual)
	Evening	*kish-tomal*	public dancing, singing, and putting on red-black-white traditional costumes to entertain the congregated spirits; making *babutol* and *sinadun* processions; in the midnight, the performance is highlighted by making ritual speech on the mortar and singing the ritual song of *wawaen*
Day 4	Morning		
	Evening	*papatnawasak*	public dancing and singing to reconcile the past conflicts with the *taai* and reminding the *taai of its departure time*
Day 5	Morning		
	Evening	*Papaosa*	public dancing and singing to remind the departure time of the *taai*
Day 6	Morning	*papasibilil & enosing; sumama; mare ka sibok*	developing a series of ritual themes to symbolise ritual separation with the *taai* by throwing away sticky-rice cake, *oesoe* grass, and bamboo top; smearing mud onto people's backs to heal illnesses; and breaking *sibok* tree trunk
	Afternoon	*pakrolrol he koko*	sending the *taai* away by the riverside, as held only in the North Saisiyat
(Post ritual Practices)		*pas rinao*	giving a thankful feast by the *sibok* puller's clan to the ritual host clan

through representational practices. First, it specifies that temporal sequences provide a fundamental framework for ritual enactments. The processes of *kakawas, papuoe, hemaon, hemabes, paksao, kish-raolan, papatnawasak, papaosa, papasibilil, enosing, sumama, mare ka sibok, pas rinao* and so on must progress in the correct sequential order and in associated daytime/nightime distinctions. Although, the performance of the *pas-taai* ritual has been limited from annual activities with longer dancing and singing performances to practicing once every

two years for six days and five nights of public performances, the correct sequential order to process major ritual themes remains the same. According to some elderly informants, the Japanese colonial government once prohibited the Saisiyat from practicing the *pas-taai* in the mid-1930s, because the government did not like the superstitious religion and big-scaled congregation associated with it. However, this announcement resulted in extensive anger among the Saisiyat; thus they tended to organize an armed resistance. It was only through a headman in the *saiyahoru* settlement, *taro a umao*, who asked help from a Japanese anthropologist, Utsurikawa Nenozo, in the Taihoku Imperial University in Taipei, to write about the nature of the pas-taai ritual. After realizing the importance of *pas-taai* practices from Utsurikawa's report, the Japanese government withdrew the prohibition order the following year with a compromise made by the Saisiyat to reduce the frequency and scale of the *pas-taai* ritual practices. This could explain why the *pas-taai* practice had been changed. But, a more important point is that even though the *pas-taai* was divided to be practiced at two sites, lessened in frequency to every two years, and its scale reduced to fewer days, its major ritual themes have been retained and follow the same sequential orders.

Second, it clearly shows that a special focus is placed on the ability of physical properties and acts to create elaborate forms of recollection among the Saisiyat. Most of the structured messages are expressed by a set of material objects or actions with recognizable physical characteristics. These repeatable objects or actions objectified of layered ritual themes and messages in ordered relations; hence they are appearances of a frame of ritual structures that are collectively enacted and experienced through practice. For example, the Saisiyat make *oseo* grass knots to actualize the sacred ritual time in contrast to the mundane normal time, exchange *oseo* grass knots to count the forthcoming public ritual performing days, tie *oseo* grass knots on human bodies and tangible things to protect the target ones, threw away *oseo* grass to send away the dangerous *taai* spirits. The feature of dynamic enactment is similarly expressed in other ritual objects, such as *kirakil* clan flags and *tabagnsan* sounding equipment which are used to entertain visiting spirits, and the *babutol* whip and *sinadun* flag which are dramatically walked in procession to generate magic powers. On the one hand, they represent underlying concepts and orders in a moving way; on the other hand,

these movable targets are experienced and highlighted as primary memory foci to generate mental images of previous ritual experiences. The following figure illustrates the dynamic interactions of various factors in constructing experiences, reflections and memories.

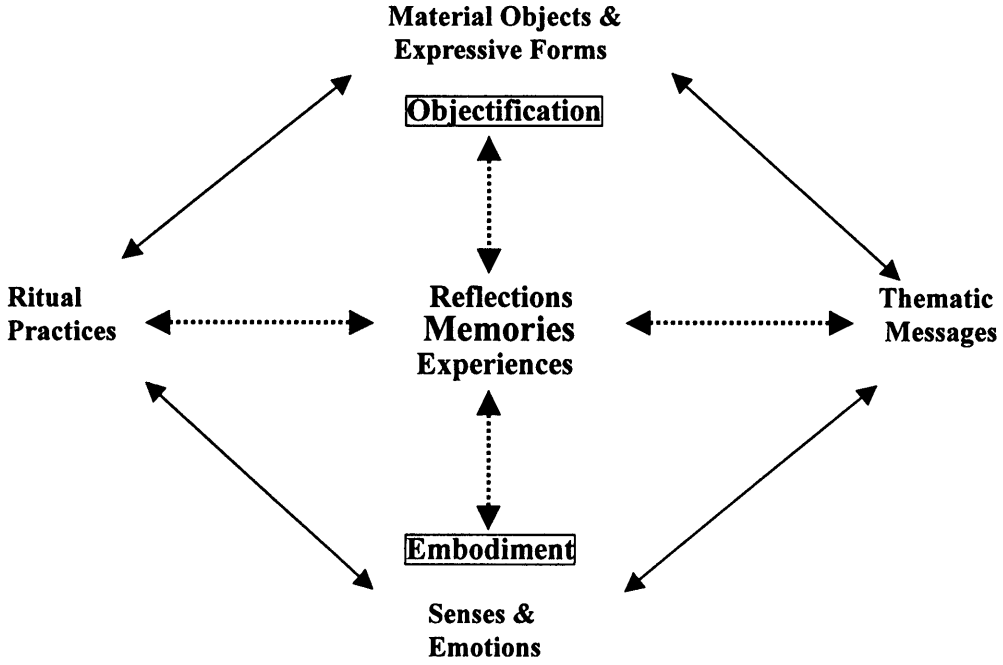


Figure 21. Dynamic Interactions in Constructing Memories

However, the structured messages and sequential orders of *pas-taai* are not fully recognized and memorized by every Saisiyat. Only the older and more experienced ritual specialists have better views and memories of detailed ritual performative processes in mind. Most Saisiyat come to join the ritual practice following the movements of others. Different persons have different degrees of engagements and involvements. Some are more devoted and authorized to know better, but some are less interested to attend and know very little. However, anyone who is repeatedly involved in the incorporating practices, would gradually accumulate bodily experiences and memories triggered by the focused material and sensory stimuli. Through ritual acting and interacting, the connectedness between participants, as well as between the participants and the past can be created through multiplied paths at various levels.

In this way, thematic messages of Saisiyat rituals are experienced as a series of material, bodily and perceptual engagements. Although each practice evolves

its practical reactions responding to different factual happenings, such as weather, economic condition or political agenda, the essential ritual images, sensory stimuli or provoked emotions are cyclically reproduced. From this perspective, we can say that the reproduced material foci and physical actions set tangible foundations to generate pointed traces for people to accumulate their own sensory experiences and linkages with the past. Reflections associated with these tangible and sensational ritual experiences usually constitute the most profound and vivid parts of people's memory.

In the accounts of early western travellers, it is interesting to note that reflections on their limited personal experiences and memories in the Saisiyat area were also triggered by a similar set of physical sensory stimuli. In 1872, Canadian missionary Rev. G. L. Mackay and British Captain B. W. Bax (1875) arrived in 'Shitan-de' (now the Baishou village of South Saisiyat in the Shitan Township). They were the earliest westerners who travelled there and made records describing the people in the Saisiyat territory before 20th century.[6] Their account offered interesting information about indigenous life on the border from their personal experiences.

In Mackay's memoirs entitled, *From Far Formosa* (1896), which was written 20 years after his journey to the Saisiyat lands, he recalled the ritual scenery that he had experienced by stating,

> Some tribes have ceremonies in connection with the worship of their ancestors three times a year. They regard it a duty to praise and reverence their progenitors for the hardships they encountered and for their skill in killing the boar and deer. In an open space in the village the tribe meets; men and women join hands in a circle around liquor, cakes, millet, and salted fish, placed there for the spirits expected to be present. At times they join hands in a long row, two or three leaders waving white-and-red flags at the ends of long bamboo poles. This ceremony invariable takes place at night, and it is a weird thing to watch their half-naked bodies bound forward and backward, with many wild leaps into the air, their flags flying in the lurid torch-light, and all the time the most unearthly yells and shrieks keeping up a sort of pandemonium chant. (Mackay 1896:259)

---

[6] On their trip, they were accompanied by a group of plain aborigines from the Xinggang village on the coastal plain. They travelled along the Shitan River into the Saisiyat area.

Mackay's travel companion, Captain Bax, also recorded this trip in his memoir entitled *The Eastern Seas*. Bax placed his focus on illustrating the physical appearance, facial marks, cultural objects, and costumes of the indigenous people they encountered. The account said,

> Shortly afterwards we came to a stream where there was an outpost of twelve savages armed with matchlocks, who after a few words with our headman allowed our party to pass on. Two of these guards were elderly women who were armed with matchlocks and long knives like the men, but wore a short petticoat besides the sort of tunic they all wear; they looked fiercer and more suspicious than the men. The young savages appeared frank and pleasant people, but the old ones had a very suspicious and cunning look, which, I suppose, must have been caused by the constant state of harassing warfare they live in with the Chinese and neighbouring savage tribes. Many of the young women were good-looking, and from the appearance of the savages, it was easy to see that they were closely related to the Peppo-hoan tribe we were living with. The men of this savage tribe tattoo their faces only down the centre of the forehead and chin, in a small line about one-third of an inch wide; the women have the same tattoo mark, but on the forehead only. The men wore a kind of shirt or tunic of coarse grass-cloth, which was not dyed, although some of the leading men had a kind of square patch behind a chequered pattern on the seat of the tunic, which was also trimmed with a narrow piece of red cloth round the neck and armholes. The fight women wore a tunic like the men, and a short petticoat or piece of grass-cloth wrapped round the waist as well. (Bax 1875:124-127)

Though these passages were made under extremely limited knowledge of local background and very short stay in the indigenous settlements, they reveal that the writers' memories are derived from the physical foci they perceived and captured, such as the ritual actions, ritual flag, ritual foods, facial expressions, tattoo marks, decorative pattern of ritual costume, etc. Many focused elements in the outsiders' memoirs are still defined by the contemporary Saisiyat as the most distinguishable and remarkable 'traditional' cultural heritages that they use to contrast themselves with 'others'. It reveals that spectacular material objects and bodily actions which had attracted outsiders' attention also served as mnemonic devices that indigenous people employ to encode messages through the intrinsic characteristics of these physical elements.

This presents a correlation between self-representation and impression of 'others', as well as between conscious local knowledge and unconscious

perceptual experience. Moreover, it directs to a fundamental issue of how memory can be associated with perceptions of the material world and bodily experiences. If certain ritual materials or actions are repeatedly replicated as solidified triggers to stimulate perceptions, recognitions and intentions in ritual practices, then through accumulating ritual experience, the Saisiyat develop an elaborated formal frame and a privileged memory mode for connecting the past and the present and adapting to the changing world. Thus, the repeated substantial properties of ritual acts and materials are solid links recognized and embodied through incorporating practices. They are dynamic and mobile mnemonic devices to create connections among people who constantly participate and experience the encoded ritual performances.

6-3. The Body as an Actor and a Receptor

If we take into account that bodily practice and action play a critical role in constructing the Saisiyat collective memory, we would need to pay more attention to the dialectical interactions between the human body and material property, as well as the constructive transformations between the subject and the object. Merleau-Ponty has proposed an inspiring metaphor stating that the human body is the 'fabric into which all objects are woven' (Merleau-Ponty [1962]2002: 273). Seeing from this light, we could say that each society has its preferred way and pattern in mediating the body to weave objects. The social body is constantly exposed to the attuned material world and accustomed to a specific mode of perceiving physical indexes and evoking past memories in the courses of social life. In Saisiyat ritual performances, the distinctive roles of human body have been explicitly and repeatedly emphasized; thus, the human body is constantly employed as a primary locus for identifying, recognizing, and generating powers of transcendence and connectedness through numerous passages.

In fact, at a fundamentally cosmological level, the Saisiyat have shown their special views of human body on creating human societies. In the creation myth, a dead human body was divided into small chunks and gave names by the Creator to produce Saisiyat people and Saisiyat clans. The relation of divided body parts and whole has been transferred to represent for social classification and relation.

Other than this primordial metaphor, the human body is more dynamically conceived and employed as a transmitter or receptor in ritual practices. In various ritual settings, great emphases have been placed on the kinaesthetic qualities of human bodies. For example, the carriers of ritual objects usually present with dramatized movements. At critical moments, the subjects and objects, bodies and artefacts intertwine during the process of ritual dancing, jumping, walking, or pounding. In this way, the praxis movements of the human body present the moving trajectory of sacred objects and materials. Also, the movements of objects are actualized by bodily actions of their carriers. The dramatic interactions between objects and the carrier's bodies create sensuous effects further occupied in every participant's mind, which extendedly transit external agencies to become internally conscious.

More significantly, many ritualized bodily contacts are used to construct the most powerful and effective passages of transition. In the transitional practices, the human body is employed as a receptor to receive, to contain, or to accumulate life essences or ancestral skills. For instance, *badimus* is practiced by an elder by using his moistened finger to touch each clan member's lip in the *pas-baki* (the ancestral ceremony); *di-azem* is practiced by pasting moistened *ka-di-azem* grass leaves onto the face of a receiver in several rites of passages; *talsaba* is practiced by touching the shoulder of carriers of sacred materials in the *pas-taai* (the dwarf-spirit ceremony) and *auwal* (the heavenly worship ceremony). In fact, *talsaba* is not only employed in ritual contexts; it is also employed in daily activities. If one wants to learn an ancestral skill or knowledge such as traditional divination, weaving, basket making, or wine making, he/she needs to touch the teacher's shoulder to acquire the most essential essence directly transmitted from the body.[7]

The sensuous feature of bodily contact is excessively revealed in the Saisiyat's distinctive way of drinking or the *latheb* (nowadays it is more popularly addressed as '*ainumi*' in Japanese). This special way of drinking is so popularly

---

[7] Usually, this kind of bodily skill transmission has to be accompanied by paying a small amount of money or shell-beads to the teacher. This can also be wine, sticky-rice cake and pork as *sinsinnamul* to the spirits.

practiced in many ritual contexts as well as in daily occasions, either to express happiness, make reconciliation, ask forgiveness, or develop alliances. In *latheb* drinking, two people have to share one cup or one bowl of rice wine together; thus they must develop intimate bodily contact by holding each other's shoulder, pressing each other's cheek, and adjoining each other's mouth to let liquor enter into two bodies at the same time. This way of drinking is widely made between people having different relationships, such as the guilty confessor and the ritual officiator, the two elderly clan representatives and spokesmen, a wife and her in-laws, a husband and all his affines, and friends who try to show amicability to each other. Practically speaking, to make *latheb* drinking, both liquor and saliva would be shared and served as consumable substances which cross bodily boundaries to unite two individuals, or extendedly unite two social groups.[8] In this sense, as a patterned form of body contact constantly and excessively practiced among the Saisiyat, *latheb* create paths to internalise different spheres of 'others'.

In addition, the human body is also conceived as a vessel that could be occupied by the spirits through possession. For the Saisiyat, messages and meanings of spirit possession have been transformed. In earlier days, spirit possession was a serious punishment made by the *taai* spirits to the Saisiyat. Only people who misbehaved and violated rules in the *pas-taai* ritual period would be 'caught' by the *taai* causing the person to lose control of his/ her own body, such as getting into a trance, fainting, or twisting limbs or head. Normally, Saisiyat spirit mediums did not communicate with spirits through possession.[9] But, since more and more Saisiyat went to seek the help from Chinese Taoist spirit mediums to resolve their personal or domestic problems, in the recent five years, the spirit possessions have been gradually adopted and practiced in a few Saisiyat ritual contexts. I have observed several Saisiyat men and women who had been

---

[8] The saliva as a liquid substance derived from the body is also conceived to be holding extrinsic power for transmission. It is clearly expressed that when people want to learn the ritual songs of *pas-taai* from the ritual officiator, a symbolic ritual practice *pameme* would be made by passing a mouthful of water from the officiator's mouth directly into the learner's mouth, or the officiator spitting a mouthful of water into a cup and letting the learner drink the saliva mixed with water.

[9] She (normally woman) had to mediate some material objects, such as using a bowl of water (*saralem* and *punapis*), or using a thin bamboo stick and glass or lead beads (*romhaep*) to receive messages from spirits.

possessed by their clan ancestors in the middle of communal ritual meetings. The possessed ones first started to twitch and then fell into trance or unconsciousness. After feeding them some rice wine, the possessed stood up, moved his/her body abnormally like an old man or old woman, and spoke to other Saisiyat companions like an ancestor speaking to descendents. These new phenomena of spirit possession have made many Saisiyat very anxious. Although the way of mediating human body through spirit possession is not new, the meaning of possession is very different from what they used to know. Some people criticized and complained that the Taoist style of spirit possession is untrue and could make damages to the Saisiyat traditions. But, some others regard it as just an additional way to communicate with ancestors and Saisiyat spirits; they believe it could create extra and more forceful links with ancestors and spirits. Facing this new transformation, again, internal diversities tend to be tolerated, juxtaposed, and sometimes valued among the Saisiyat.[10]

Nonetheless, the body as a mobile base in ritual practices are inseparably integrated with perceptions, sensations and emotions projected upon the material worlds. Bodily practice is simultaneously the process of objectification, identification and appropriation, where the present, past, and future are united in the stylized space-time. Taking the 'habitus' approach suggested by Bourdieu (1972), bodily experiences accumulated through frequent ritual practices are served to engender thoughts, perceptions, expressions, and dispositions by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production. The inward embodiment is mutually reflecting outward objectified world. In the case of the Saisiyat, the sensuous and material agencies transmit from the external world engender perceptions and convictions on the reality of *tatinii* (spirits of the past). Explicitly and implicitly, the formalized messages are embodied through multiple senses of touch, taste hearing, and so on.

---

[10] Saisiyat traditional spirit mediums were usually women endowed with unique gifts, which could be identified by songs in appearances or personalities. They are conceived as persons with good essence, such as those who are innocent, kind and generous. Currently, there are less than three Saisiyat female spirit mediums who still could practice *romhaep* but not very skilfully. But, traditional *romhaep* divination is still required to communicate with ancestors in major communal rituals for deciding formal ritual dates.

By analysing the pattern of material representations and sensory experiences in Saisiyat rituals, it shows that the power of tactility has been given a special role in ritual communications. Although they are involved with senses from all directions, the power of tactility, the sense of touch, and the quality of corporeal contact are most overtly and repeatedly employed among the Saisiyat. Different degrees of bodily contact with sacred objects are sophisticatedly employed to distinguish different levels of secrecy, and social inclusiveness or exclusiveness. In many occasions, hearing, seeing and eating are extendedly conceived as alternative ways of bodily contact which are derived from different media such as sound, eyesight, and digestible substances. Thus, focused tactile qualities are used to suggest layered connections among the Saisiyat. Through a sense of touch, the Saisiyat perceive and embody distinctive collective memories in a shifting world. To some extent, deriving from the invisible but sensational qualities of the sense of touch, the meanings and messages generated from tactility are more paradoxical, ambiguous and vague, but are also more fluid, dynamic and multivocal. Thus, these messages tend to be mobile, corporeal and sensational, but also more bodily confined and distance restrictive.

Furthermore, tactile qualities are interwoven with other sensory qualities to create a web of non-verbal and intersensory sources in constructing ritual experiences. In the process of accumulating ritual experiences, human bodies and symbolic objects serve as 'portable representational devices' and primary memory foci among the Saisiyat. In her study of Kaluli's ritual songs and memory world, Munn has pointed out that 'portability in the context of people's displacement has been increasingly becoming the stereotyped epitome of pastness and loss' (Munn 1995:98). It is true in the case of the Saisiyat. As a group who had migrated along the 'savage border' from hundreds of years ago, the Saisiyat seem to construct tangible and portable spaces in public ritual performances. These portable spaces are primary memory sites where the Saisiyat epitomize and re-construct the past to define and redefine themselves as a distinctive group. Here, ritual experiences can be seen as social circulation of memories through bodily retentions of the past. The past is thus portably shared through elaborated sensory qualities embedded in individual bodies.

6-4. Non-verbal Properties in Verbal Performative Forms

The distinction between verbal and non-verbal aspects in ritual performances is usually surfaced as debates of "structural" and "dramatic" approaches in ritual analysis. Sometimes, the focus on one of these two aspects may reflect more than personal preference of investigation, but could reflect the different modalities of rituals in different cultures (Fox 1979: 147). For example, the verbal aspect of a ritual stresses abstract and logic concepts, while the non-verbal aspect is more focused on ambiguous, competitive, and sensational messages. However, the gaps and differences between ritual actions and ritual speech sometimes are not so extremely strict. Thus, even though non-verbal devices have played very critical roles in Saisiyat ritual performances based on their inherent physical properties, it does not mean that verbal and vocal devices are not employed substantial qualities in connecting to ancestors and to the past. In fact, most verbal expressions, such as ritual speeches and ritual songs are frequently generated from bodily actions of voices and sounds.

As a special type of ritual action, oration and singing unified words and sounds at the same time. Thus, similar principles of cultivating material analogies and bodily actions are also emphasized in the verbal forms of Saisiyat rituals. In ritual verses and ritual songs, we can find that solid metaphors and embodiments are employed as key factors to transmit messages as well. In the concept of the Saisiyat, making ritual speeches and ritual songs are equivalent to dialogues between the living beings and the spirits. The power to actualize communication is derived from the vivification of metaphoric images as well as the strong vibration of rhymes of sounds.

In general, Saisiyat ritual verses appear very rhetoric through a combination of a lot of sophisticated analogies. Many concrete metaphors are drawn from the natural or domestic realms of daily experiences. On the one hand, lively visual images are enabled by these concrete metaphors through the media of words. On the other hand, signs of sounds also generate enchanted effects for experience. Ritual speech is always made by an elderly man who is over 50 years old. He acts as a clan spokesman, either in ritual dialogues as *haehaeong*, or in food-offering prayers such as *homabes*. A man who is good at making ritual speeches is very

experienced to make vivid analogies. He is considered as having precious ancestral gifts and is a respectable figure in the community. Since not many people are qualified and talented in making ritual verses nowadays, sometimes a good spokesman is desperately needed in a clan. I have seen a case wherein the ritual host sent a few young men to travel to an adjacent village and carry back a sick paralyzed elder to make a speech on the behavior of their clan. The young men carried him all the way to the outdoor ritual site to present ritual verses to ancestors. After he finished his speech, they carried him back home immediately.

Umao a baxi, who is a Saisiyat indigenous language teacher as well as a farmer and a truck driver in the Peng-lai settlement, has vividly described that the power of ritual verses vibrate like sounds of 'clanging gongs'. He had recorded and translated some beautiful ritual verses used in various rituals. I shall give two examples here to show the vigorous images derived from the rich metaphors through words. For instance, in the ritual of *a'uwal* ('worship of heaven'), ritual verses are given such as:

> The spirits in the heavens, the *tatinii* of this land, we are the children in the direction of the east rising sun. The flowers of mountain ferns are withered, though they are the plants with the strongest power to resist drought. *Tatinii,* please transfer our longings to the heavens, let it wet this land and bring rains to us. Lonely eagles looking down mountain hills from the tops of peaks, please transfer our voices. Gradually rising smoke, please pass over our messages. This is a peaceful living world, *tatinii* we need your mercy (The above sentences are used to implore for rains). The evil air of illness is flowing over the roofs of our houses; please do not let it enter into our houses. When we pass across its shoulder, please do not let it enter our bodies. *Tatinii,* please sweep the evil disease into the sea; please push it backward to the cave. Do not let it hurt your children anymore (The above sentences are used to implore the prevention of contagious disease).

In the case of making *sasios* in order to 'cleanse hatred' between different social groups, when an animal sacrifice is to be killed, ritual verses are given like:

> You are elected from hundreds and thousands because you are the sacred one. The blood in your throat shall take away our enmity and hatred. When I close your eyes, you shall know where you are traveling. Your sounds shall be heard in the heaven and the underneath, as well as in the living world. In the middle of your screaming and bleeding, all the enmity shall be over.

Actually, Saisiyat ritual verses put emphasis on producing both vigorous metaphors and mapping rhythms. Some of the metaphors and rhythms are contrasting and stimulating, while some are smooth and relaxed. Individual sensibilities and talents of identifying substantial properties embedded in things to make vivid analogical comparisons, and of manipulating sounds of words to make clear rhythmic vibrations, are highly appreciated and valued by the Saisiyat.

In different contexts, ritual songs also display similar characters under more structured arrangements. In general, ritual songs are not popularly employed in the collective ritual congregations, but are more often used in working or entertaining occasions to express personal feelings. The only exceptional case is in the ritual of *pas-taai*, where the collective singing and dancing is definitely required and indispensable. In fact, the *pas-taai* ritual songs are regarded as the most sacred and precious cultural heritages by the Saisiyat. Many serious taboos and fatal restrictions are associated with singing these songs as they are believed to be powerful magic spells and remedies for the survival of Saisiyat community. In mythical stories, the *taai* taught these songs to the Saisiyat before they departed, and by that time, only one man in the *Titijun* clan fully memorized the complicated lyrics and melodies. Thus, this explains why the *Titijun* clan serves as the ritual host clan of *pas-taai* thereafter.

Unlike other ritual verses wherein individual creativity is appreciated, the lyrics and melodies of the *pas-taai* ritual songs are believed to contain strong magical powers for inviting, attracting, entertaining, and peacefully sending away the *taai,* thus they should be recited without alternations and mistakes. Similarly, the *pas-taai* songs should not be sung during the non-ritual period. According to the Saisiyat, any one who violates the rules of singing *pas-taai* ritual songs would be seriously punished by the *taai*, frequently causing fatal events.

As the most rhetoric and poetic verbal expressions in the Saisiyat, the whole set of *pas-taai* songs are very distinctive in form and rich in content. Nowadays, these songs have to be sung uninterruptedly for four nights over 40 hours when ritual dances should come in five different styles. The lyrical structure is very complicated, but reveal some repetitive orders. The contents of lyrics include fables, legends, ancestral activities and prophecies. More problematically, many

vocabularies of its lyrics do not appear in the contemporary colloquial language. For these reasons, the Saisiyat conceive these ritual songs as the most abstruse but precious wisdom passed down from the ancestors to the living Saisiyat.

At a practical level, not many Saisiyat can memorize the complete set of *pas-taai* ritual songs, because people are only allowed to practice these songs once in every two years during the one-month ritual period. Thus, only a few devoted elders and musically talented persons can sing these songs very well. Since various written systems have been introduced to the indigenous society, different ways of writing, such as Chinese characters or phonetic signs, Japanese *hatakana* phonetic signs, and the most recently introduced Romanized alphabets, all have been utilized by the Saisiyat to record their *pas-taai* ritual songs. Nowadays, when a family congregate to practice ritual songs during the ritual period, we may see a very interesting phenomena wherein people in their 70s use Japanese *hatakana* phonetic spelling system, people in their 40s-60s use Chinese characters or the phonetic system, while some younger generations use the Romanized system in their record books. However, even though people try to memorize the lyrics sincerely with written mnemonic aides, the effects are still limited due to the restriction in practice.

Not surprisingly, the meanings of lyrics are even more complicated and diverse, making it difficult to establish a standardized interpretation. Multiple interpretations exist among the Saisiyat and even the leading ritual officiator could not claim fully understanding them. Every time I ask this question to the elders, they would reply humbly that the ancestors were much smarter than the contemporary living ones. They think they all need to learn harder to figure out deeper meanings of these songs. Some elders told me that the *pas-taai* ritual songs are embedded with the most crucial secrets to understand ancestral traditions in all domains. According to them, once a person can fully understand the hidden meanings of the *pas-taai* ritual songs, he/she could become an expert in all ancestral skills, such as weaving, basket making, hunting, farming, dancing, and singing. But, instead of making collective efforts to establish a standardized interpretation of the lyric's meanings, the Saisiyat are more eager and content to

memorize the songs and to sing them well in the formal ritual performance (Zhu 1992, Zhu 2000).

Learning *pas-taai* ritual songs is not only a critical issue for the Saisiyat. Documentation and analysis of these songs are also very appealing to many researchers from the outside academic circles. Quite a few scholars, such as Lin(1956), Kurosawa (1973), Hu & Hsieh (1993), and Lim (2000) have already made great efforts to record and analyse Saisiyat *pas-taai* ritual songs, though none of them got a completely correct citation and interpretation in the eyes of the Saisiyat. According to the recent report made by Hu and Hsieh (1993), lyrics of *pas-taai* songs are composed of 15 sections, and each section has its own melody. Every section consists of a few paragraphs; each paragraph is composed of several sentences. In total, there are about 229 sentences in the whole set of ritual songs (Hu & Hsieh 1993, Zhu 2000). Although every sentence contains words of various numbers, it is evenly composed of seven syllables. The divisions between sections, paragraphs or sentences are clearly expressed in the act of singing out rhymes and syllables. On recognizing their excellent rhetoric expressions and distinctive structural arrangements in using metaphors and rhymes, many scholars tend to compare and analogize the *pas-taai* ritual songs as one of the most distinguished classic epics or literature masterpieces made by indigenous people in Taiwan.

In what follows, I shall present three paragraphs of ritual songs to exemplify the special forms and structures of lyrics. The first example is the first paragraph of the first section, which is regarded as holding strong powers in words to bring back the *taai* to the Saisiyat world. Thus, it is strictly forbidden to sing them except on the day of the performance. The sentences included in the songs are as follows:

(1) *kaLinapi' ka laro'*	started with a rhyme of *laro'* (red persimmon tree)
(2) *taraol ila koko*	grandma (taai) are invited
(1) *kaLinapi' ka laro'*	started with a rhyme of *laro'* (red persimmon tree)
(2) *taraol ila koko*	grandma (*taai*) are invited
(2) *taraol ila koko*	grandma (*taai*) are invited
(3) *waLi'ta pa-kosalo*	come, offer food
(3) *waLi'ta pa-kosalo*	come, offer food
(3) *waLi'ta pa-kosalo*	come, offer food
(4) *ka tatimae' ka rolo*	make *rolo* fish for side dish
(4) *ka tatimae' ka rolo*	make *rolo* fish for side dish

(4) *ka tatimae' ka rolo* make *rolo* fish for side dish
(5) *yaso ka binaboeoe* the silver grass is tied for timing
(5) *yaso ka binaboeoe* the silver grass is tied for timing

In comparison, the first paragraph of the second section is less restrictive. It is the starting point from which people practice ritual songs during the preparatory period. The sentences in the singing are like:

(1) *ka'inapi' ka rolhi'* started with a rhyme of *rolhi'* (thistle)
(2) *yako miriirili* I rise up
(1) *ka'inapi' ka rolhi'* started with a rhyme of *rolhi'* (thistle)
(2) *yako miriirilhi* I rise up
(2) *yako miriirilhi* I rise up
(3) *mirihli ka bo'iha* rise up by that side
(2) *yako miriirilhi* I rise up
(3) *mirihli ka bo'iha* rise up by that side
(3) *mirihli ka bo'iha* rise up by that side
(4) *yako ma'iyalakem* I hunt head
(3) *mirihli ka bo'iha* rise up by that side
(4) *yako ma'iyalakem* I hunt head
(4) *yako ma'iyalakem* I hunt head
(5) *sila' olhi ka tenoe* the point is a new sprout
(4) *yako ma'iyalakem* I hunt head
(5) *sila' olhi ka tenoe'* the point is a new sprout
(5) *sila' olhi ka tenoe'* the point is a new sprout
(6) *ka tenoe' sibok* the sprout of the elder tree (*sibok*)
(5) *sila' olhi ka tenoe'* the point is a new sprout
(6) *ka tenoe' sibok* the sprout of the elder tree (*sibok*)
(6) *ka tenoe' sibok* the sprout of the elder tree (*sibok*)
(7) *sila ba'i hoemalok* spread with the wind
(6) *ka tenoe' sibok* the sprout of the elder tree (*sibok*)
(7) *sila ba'i hoemalok* spread with the wind
(7) *sila ba'i hoemalok* spread with the wind
(8) *rima i-pinaramol* to mend the hunting hut
(7) *sila ba'i hoemalok* spread with the wind
(8) *rima i-pinaramol* to mend the hunting hut

Among the whole set of ritual songs, the seventh section is the most spectacular section which consists of two paragraphs that vaguely indicate the conflicts between the Saisiyat, *waen* (Lady Thunder), and the *taai* (the dwarf spirits). It is a very special moment to sing these two paragraphs of songs. Before singing these two paragraphs, all ritual participants have to stop all their movements. When everyone stands quiet and still to show their seriousness and earnestness on the ritual ground under the moonlight, the words come out as

below:

(1) *ka'inapi' ka bongol*	started with a rhyme of *bongol* (Myrsinaceae tree)
(2) *sai homilohilom*	reluctantly
(1) *ka'inapi' ka bongol*	started with a rhyme of bongol (Myrsinaceae tree)
(2) *sai homilohilom*	reluctantly
(2) *sai homilohilom*	reluctantly
(3) *taboloe' ka ni waen*	we betrayed and left *waen* (Lady Thunder)
(3) *taboloe' ka ni waen*	we betrayed and left *waen* (Lady Thunder)
(3) *taboloe' ka ni waen*	we betrayed and left *waen* (Lady Thunder)
(4) *mosa' ila inimon*	go to your place
(4) *mosa' ila inimon*	go to your place
(4) *mosa' ila inimon*	go to your place
(5) *mosa' patenamolimol*	go reluctantly
(5) *mosa' patenamolimol*	go reluctantly
(5) *mosa' patenamolimol*	go reluctantly
(6) *pale'alo iso'on*	take care of you
(6) *pale'alo iso'on*	take care of you
(6) *pale'alo iso'on*	take care of you
(7) *iso'on wa'wa'en*	you people of *waen* (Lady Thunder)
(7) *iso'on wa'wa'en*	you people of *waen* (Lady Thunder)

****

(1) *ka'inapi' ka bongol*	started with a rhyme of *bongol* (Myrsinaceae tree)
(2) *ray saka' kolokol*	at the mountain bridge
(1) *ka'inapi' ka bongol*	started with a rhyme of *bongol* (Myrsinaceae tree)
(2) *ray saka' kolokol*	at the mountain bridge
(2) *ray saka' kolokol*	at the mountain bridge
(3) *sitilil ray kolol*	down to the mountain like hanging
(3) *sitilil ray kolol*	down to the mountain like hanging
(3) *sitilil ray kolol*	down to the mountain like hanging
(4) *ray saka lomahorol*	have you forgotten the past
(4) *ray saka lomahorol*	have you forgotten the past
(4) *ray saka lomahorol*	have you forgotten the past
(5) *manalowa' iso'on*	attached to you
(5) *manalowa' iso'on*	attached to you
(5) *manalowa' iso'on*	attached to you
(6) *iso'on wa'wa'en*	you people of *waen* (Lady Thunder)
(6) *iso'on wa'wa'en*	you people of *waen* (Lady Thunder)

From the lyrics above, we could identify some special features of the contents and structures of these songs. Firstly, these songs are essentially replicating conservations among the *taai*, the Saisiyat ancestors and the living Saisiyat. The subjective roles of singers change fluidly and swiftly in the process

of singing. It again exposes the ability of dynamic transformation and intersubjectivity in another domain. By making vivid dialogues through singing, these songs generate strong powers to unite the past and the present. The singers are 'embodied' by the words and sounds of lyrics; besides, the *taai* and ancestors are enlivened to speak with the Saisiyat through the mouth of singers.

The second feature is that material metaphors are widely employed in the lyrics. At the surface level, most sentences of lyrics depict concrete things; but at a deeper level, they indicate other abstract or obscure notions. Most metaphors in these songs are not clear, neither are they easy to understand. Actually, this explains why the *pas-taai* ritual songs cannot be interpreted as one. The most distinctive expressions of ritual lyrics are related to the overwhelming utilization of complicated plant symbols in the lyrics. As elaborated natural symbols, plants are both used as mnemonic devices to effectively incorporate rhymes, as well as metaphors or symbols to indicate hidden meanings. In total, more than 13 different plant names are used in lyrics as primary hints to remind rhymes, while other 14 different plants are employed as multi-layered metaphors or symbols implying obscure and abstract meanings. The plant names in the *pas-taai* ritual songs are species that widely inhabit the local environment, such as red persimmon tree ('*laro*"), fragrant maple tree ('*rala*"), Hauil fig tree ('*banal*'), tropical verbena tree ('*ma'aew*'), thistle ('*rolhi*"), yellow rattan ('*oewai*'), China-ball tree ('*bangas*'), mountain wax tree ('*balaSi*'), cane bamboo ('*boe'oe*'), Taiwanese Myrsinaceae tree ('*bongol*'), plum tree ('*aelim*'), Taiwanese alder tree ('*sibok*'), a local bush tree ('*ralem*'), and so on. Verbal signs of these plant names are repetitively interwoven in lyrics but they wholly generate mental images of plants and sound effects of words. The interplays of material metaphors and sounds of lyrics convey rich figurative messages and present more fluid and ambiguous concepts.

The third significant feature is the special repetition pattern expressed in singing. When people sing these songs, a pattern of numerical sequences and orders are displayed from the repeated lyrics and melodies. For singing these songs, three types of numerical series of repetition are displayed, since a former sentence must be systematically repeated before moving to the next sentence.

The first type is the most popularly used one, which repeats lyric sentences in a numerical series like 1212/ 233/ 344/ 455... The second type repeats sentences in a series as 1212/ 2323/ 3434/ 4545... The third type is only used in the last two ending songs, which repeats in a sequence of 12/ 23/ 34/ 45...

Thus, in actualizing these songs, people do not only need to memorize the lyrics, but also need to remember and count the number series of repetitive sentences. In recent works of Mimica (1988) and Urton (1997), they have explored the social meaning of numbers and counting systems. They offer a new insight to consider counting as a systematic social expression with a very concrete and substantial form (Mimica 1988, Urton 1997). For example, the operation of counting through the body is a system of formalized units and logical relations between the numerical series and the principles of cosmos generation (Mimica 1988). The numerical counting patterns could be incorporated in bodily movements in practical activities, such as weaving, to convey meanings and express conceptions about order, space, magnitude, time, and succession (Urton 1997). Though I do not attempt to further analyze the counting system of the Saisiyat, I would like to take into account the interplays between the concrete formalized properties and the abstract verbal expression in singing *pas-taai* ritual songs. It is no doubt that the words, sounds and numerical series of repeating sentences are incorporated through bodily practice of ritual singing. They are recognized and reproduced through physical and corporeal actions.

To some extent, these three numerical series reflect a special modality of relating and linking the sentences. They all share a feature of linking and conjuring different sentences by repeating a preceding sentence before moving to a new one. Thus, all sentences are overlapped in stylized repetitive and successive forms such as: 122/ 233/ 344; 1212/ 2323/ 3434; or 12/ 23/ 34. The pattern of relating is a formalized pattern of succession, repetition and reproduction. In the act of singing, the uttered words become substantial voice-links to keep relating to the precedent existence and linking to the successive existence. The sounds are served as triggers to generate olfactory connections. Under such a framework, the precedent element is transmitted, while the successive element is gradually introduced and combined to constitute the series of acts.

To conclude, I would argue that verbal forms in the Saisiyat ritual performances are coping with their distinctive mode of transmission. Material metaphors and poetic forms are fundamental elements predominantly expressed in both ritual speech and songs. What is special about the situation is that the expressive features of ritual speech and songs are similar to those of ritual objects and acts. The articulation of verbal and non-verbal discourses postulates an inclination of the Saisiyat to recognize and memorize the sameness and differences among things and persons through tangible qualities. As highlighted memory foci to rectify connectedness, substantial properties in both verbal and non-verbal forms are mutually reinforced to sensitize actors to guide actions. Consequently, the powers of speech and songs are entangled with those of material objects and actions, which orchestrate to generate transformative and multilayered connections for the Saisiyat to react to the world.

6-5. Senses, Materials, and Embodied Memories

As I have explained, in accordance with their special demands on memory, that increased ritual performances reflect a special emphasis on accumulating ritual experience among the Saisiyat. In performing rituals, focused substantial qualities in material resources and bodily actions have been repetitively reproduced as highlighted indexes and references for relating and connecting. In this regard, the acts of doing rituals play vital roles in their ways of knowing and remembering. From analyzing the special themes and forms in ritual performances, I would argue that Saisiyat social transmission is based on the materialized, multisensory and embodied memory. Actually, these phenomena are inter-reactive consequences and reflexive. As special mnemonic techniques employed by the Saisiyat, symbolic objects and acts, sensory stimulants and bodily performances mediated in ritual practices serve to generate shared memories for constructing and reconstructing Saisiyat Identity. To conclude with this chapter, I shall attempt to summarize the significance of materialized, multi-sensory and embodied memory in perceiving, knowing and realizing; and explore how they affect the interpretation of facts and the personal reactions to the living world. Also, I shall

identify two distinctive features-- 'creative relatedness' and 'confined possessiveness' evolved from the special memory mode of the Saisiyat.

To focus excessively on sensory and bodily experiences through ritual practices, the mode of recognition and memory among the Saisiyat has displayed some characteristic features. In general, sensory experience is characterized by its ambiguous, transformative, extensive, sensational and emotional capabilities, which tends to focus on certain ritual materials as mnemonic aides and 'memory containers' to secure a concrete form of permanence in a transforming world. Because the multifarious substantial qualities embedded in material objects provide powerful sources to provoke senses in various domains; thus, the sensory experience is usually synesthetic, where one stimulus could produce a perception of movement to various sensory domains. This power amplifies memories by fusing multi-sensory qualities and directing them to inter-sensory associations and expansions (Merlearu-Ponty 1962, Seremetakis 1994, Sutton 2002). On the other hand, with a special focus on bodily experience makes individual body a fundamental medium to contain and enact the ancestral resources. The process of embodiment corresponds to the sensuous process to perceive, to relate, to mime, and to contact (Taussig 1993, Seremetakis 1994, Stoller 1995). In this sense, the past is a gradual sedimentation in the body through long-term practices, which involves an alive, repetitive, and regular manner to act the past in body. Thus, the past is also internalized, confined, and possessed in the individual body.

If the material and sensory qualities direct to multi-sensory and transformative relatedness, this externalized projection is entangled with the constrained possessiveness derived from the internalized process of embodiment. These two contrasting features of the Saisiyat ritual experiences are drawn together to construct special agencies which combine and mix diversified forces on the one hand. On the other hand, they are associated with ambiguity and confusion which need to be mediated and reconciled depending on each specific context. From an incident of *pas-taai* ritual performance in Taipei (the capital city of Taiwan) arranged by an enthusiastic anthropologist, we can find that the ambiguous and paradoxical impacts of ritual experience are closely associated with distinctive Saisiyat perceptions of the reality.

This incident revealed that divergent perceptions of ritual performance and cultural 'reality' are derived from different reactions to sensory stimuli and embodiments. It was involved by a very active Taiwanese female anthropologist Tai-li Hu who studied Saisiyat *pas-taai* ritual songs and dances for many years. With good intentions to preserve and promote *pas-taai* ritual when she found that not many Saisiyat young generations could sing the complete set of ritual songs, she led a professional dancing group called 'The Indigenous Dancers' with members of mixed indigenous cultural backgrounds to learn the songs in the ritual site of the North Saisiyat during the ritual period of 1992. They documented detailed lyrics, melodies, structures, and practically learnt to sing *pas-taai* ritual songs. In the process, Hu had asked permission from the leading ritual host in North Saisiyat; and she had practiced a few rituals of *hemaon* to ask forgiveness and to reconcile with the *tatinii* according to the request of the ritual officiator. In this way, members of 'The Indigenous Dancers' had participated in the formal ritual performance to sing and dance with the Saisiyat at the ritual ground.

Later on, Hu successfully published her detailed reports and analysis of the ritual songs in 1993 (Hu & Hsieh 1993). In 1994, by considering that the Saisiyat *pas-taai* is one of the most distinctive indigenous rituals in the world, Hu planned a stage performance of the *pas-taai* to be performed by 'The Indigenous Dancers' at the National Theatre in Taipei. In her words, this stage performance aimed to preserve and prevent the precious ritual and cultural heritage from fast diminishing and changing due to the threats of speedy urban migration; and to make more Taiwanese people appreciate and respect Saisiyat ritual and culture. According to her descriptions (1998), during the preparation period for the stage performance, she went back to the Saisiyat village and asked permissions again from the leading ritual officiator of the North Saisiyat by making *hemaon* ritual and paying *sinamel* money to *tatinii*. Also, following the requests of the leading ritual officiator, she omitted and altered some paragraphs of the ritual songs; replaced sacred ritual symbols, such as Taiwanese alder tree; and changed her original plans of showing specimens of real plant symbols in lyrics and of purchasing *kirakil* and *tabagnsan* from the Saisiyat. Instead, she used slides and made objects to imitate the real ones.

On April 16 and 17, 1994, two performances were finally conducted in the National Theatre. Hu rented and sent two buses to the North and the South Saisiyat villages and brought many Saisiyat villagers to Taipei to watch the stage performance. She regarded this stage performance as an imitation that was designed to attract audience in a stage form; thus, it was not exactly the same as the real performance but was intentionally mimed to look like 'authentic'(Hu 1998: 68). The theatre effects seemed to be very vivid and successful. The Saisiyat *pas-taai* ritual songs and thematic scenes that performed by 'The Indigenous Dancers' indeed impressed many audiences.

Unfortunately, an unpredictable fatal accident happened half a year later in the following *pas-taai* ritual period. In the late fall of 1994, when the preparatory process *papoe'oe* (*oesoe* grass knotting) was practiced, elders from the South Saisiyat questioned the leading ritual officiator in the North Saisiyat about the act of stage performance in Taipei. The ritual officiator in the North Saisiyat was afraid to admit his approval of it. Few days later, his wife suddenly died without any obvious illness.

Also, other bad things happened during the ritual period. These things caused a big panic among the Saisiyat, especially for the people in the South Saisiyat. Many regarded these as bad signs of punishment by the *taai*. In order to pacify this panic, Hu went back to the North Saisiyat again and made *homaon* with the Saisiyat to ask forgiveness from the ancestors and the *taai*. But, many people in the South Saisiyat did not accept her apology. The shadow of the stage performance incident had extended for a long time. When I started my fieldwork in the South Saisiyat in 1995, many people questioned my relation with Hu, because we are both from the anthropological circle and have the same surname.

After this incident, Hu (1998) wrote an article to analyze the conception of cultural reality and performance in different societies. Based on her own experiences of transforming indigenous ritual performances to stage performances acted by 'The Indigenous Dancers', she compared different reactions to the stage performance between the Saisiyat and the Paiwan (an indigenous group in the southern Taiwan). In conclusion, she contrasted two types of cultural realities, in which the Saisiyat possess a type of 'incorporating' cultural reality, while the Paiwan possess

a type of 'distinguishing' cultural reality. She describes,

> Facing similar processes to transform sacred ritual songs and dances into stage performance in the Saisiyat, all members of 'The Indigenous Dancers' and I had been incorporated into their cultural reality in the process of our learning and performing. We had to follow Saisiyat customs to perform rituals of reconciliation and confession; we had to play devoted and ambiguous insider-outsider roles. In the Paiwan, our learning and performing had been distinguished from their 'distinguishing' cultural reality. We, non-villagers, do not need to practice any ritual before the stage performance. Stage performing is recognized as a more distanced outsiders' role. Although we had held cautious, careful, and respectful attitudes in dealing with the stage performance, once bad things happened, performers, either Saisiyat or non-Saisiyat, were all included in their causal effect logic. In comparison to the experience of the Paiwan, it makes me realize that these two cultural groups have different concepts of 'cultural reality'. If any accident happened after the performance, Paiwan villagers in Ku-lo would not regard outside performers as the cause of the accident. For the Saisiyat, the performance stage could be transformed into the sacred site if outside performers use real sacred objects or sing the whole set of ritual songs. But, for the Paiwan, even if outsiders use the real ritual objects or sing the complete sacred ritual songs, the performance stage could not be transformed into the real ritual site (unless the villagers do it which might make it real). (Hu 1998:83)

From this incident, Hu has noticed the distinctive perception of 'cultural reality' possessed by the Saisiyat. Also, she has realized that the irresistible powers of incorporation and internalization were generated from Saisiyat ritual practices. Even as an outsider, she had to practice the Saisiyat ritual to communicate with the Saisiyat ancestors. But, she did not give further explanations of why these two indigenous societies have different concepts of 'cultural realities'; and neither did she specify the significance of material - sensory properties and the impacts of embodiment in constructing Saisiyat 'cultural reality'.

In fact, the above incident reflects the weight of objectification and action on constructing Saisiyat perceptions. For the Saisiyat, the reality and the truth are generally revealed through passages of objectification and embodiment in specific representational context under specific space-time. Thus, many material analogies, sensory stimuli and bodily actions are elaborated as critical mnemonic devices. These memory foci repetitively appear in changeable forms to generate

relatedness and connectedness with the symbolic past. Thus, they activate fluid linkages with the past, which eventually orchestrate their effects on creating enlivened experiences and memories.

For many Saisiyat who are sensitively attuned to a distinctive set of material symbols and sensuous stimuli through repetitive ritual experiences, these material objects and symbolic actions are portable memory-boxes or mobile indexes to connect the past. When elements with similar substantial qualities are presented and perceived in actions, they quickly provoke to generate familiar linkages by neglecting the co-existence of other alternations. This brings me back to my arguments that Saisiyat ritual experiences have laid solid foundations not only for recollecting resources of the past, but also for re-enlivening spirits of the past. To experience rituals, one must attend, use his/her body to perceive, and accumulate messages transmitted through physical and sensory sign-devices. In the midst of the process, two contrasting powers are mixed and fused.

First, the power of externalisation is derived from the objectification of material indexes and sensuous stimuli. These tangible indexes create linkages with dynamic and transformative openness in the objectified world, because of their cross-referenced ability derived from recognizable qualities in various sensory domains. For example, the message of stickiness and unification could be transferred from touching the honey-comb wax preserved in the ancestral basket, to pounding of the sticky-rice. Anyway, messages derived from transformative sign-devices in multiple sensory domains are able to orchestrate and amplify the memory effects to enliven the past in the present.

Second, the power of internalisation is derived from the embodiment, which confined the past into an individual body. Different from the flexibility and creative relatedness expressed through material-sensory indexes, to centralize on bodily contact and embodiment in the process of social transmission directs to a character of inclusiveness and possessiveness. The body conjoins subjective and objective roles, and serves as a perceiver, a receptor and a mediator at the same time. The senses of past, continuity, and commonality are all gradually accumulated through bodily experiences. At a deeper level, possessing the past in the body not only expresses the mobility, but also restrictions and inalienability.

Thus, constrained possessiveness is also frequently and overtly displayed as another major character in Saisiyat ritual practices.

To sum up, the complex nature of Saisiyat ritual practices is shown as a special emphasis on materialized and embodied memory. Significant attentions are placed on replicating material objects and bodily actions to proliferate portable epitomes of the past. The symbolic past is recalled and shared through bodily practice and experience of each participant. Although every single ritual practice is identical and changeable according to the wider social-political contexts, related substantial qualities derived from all ritual practices still generate schematic patterns of perceptions, actions, and thoughts. In this way, frequently and repetitively practiced Saisiyat rituals have permeated ambiguities and chaos in everyday life and reproduced the persistent forms, themes and orders of the past. As specialized perceptual and mnemonic operators, Saisiyat rituals generate powers to release the tensions of the conflicts and discontinuities experienced in the historical processes, and reify and reconstruct shared experiences of continuity and commonality. The self-images and world-images of the Saisiyat are thus flexibly and vividly constructed and reconstructed within the given context based on the characters of creative relatedness and constrained possessivenss. Consciously and unconsciously, the continuity and commonality derived from Saisiyat ritual experiences becomes the most active construction but silent resistance to historical changes as well as to dominant 'others'. .

Photo 6-1. Practicing the ritual of *pas-taai* in 1996 at the North Saisiyat ritual site (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 1996, Taai)

Photo 6-2. Practicing the ritual of *pas-taai* in 1936 at the North Saisiyat ritual site (Photo Collection # A1132-2, Department of Anthropology, National Taiwan University)

Photo 6-3. Pounding sticky-rice cake by male clan members of the *Babai* clan at *Raromoan* in the *pas-baki* (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2001, Donghe)

Photo 6-4. The adopter and adopted son perform *latheb*, a Saisiyat way of drinking, to show alliance in the ritual of *mulubi-ka-rangi* (returning an adopted child) (Photographed by *umao a basi*, 2002, Penglai)

Chapter 7
Conclusion: Reproducing the Past for the Present and the Future

> 'The authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced. Since the historical testimony rests on the authenticity, the former, too, is jeopardized by reproduction when substantive duration ceases to matter. And what is really jeopardized when the historical testimony is affected is the authority of the object.' (Walter Benjamin 1936)

In this concluding chapter, I will summarise the argument of the meaning of the objectified past, and then go on to examine the active roles of the past, ancestral memories, and cultural heritages in the contemporary Saisiyat social life. It has been shown in previous chapters that the Saisiyat had undergone intensive external pressures and internal conflicts as a result of colonization and modernization for over three hundred years. Despite the negative effects of marginality, they have displayed distinctive capabilities of integrating and constructing their identity through reproducing and re-enlivening the past, especially their ritualized past. If we consider 'ritual interests as the symbolic form of social interests' and 'representational practices as the symbolic devices for reproducing those interests', then a more critical issue about the fundamental forces of generating connectedness between persons as social beings needs to have prior attention.

By placing the attainment of continuity and commonality in a hybrid population at the center of this thesis, I have explored certain representational practices as forms of objectification to make people constitute themselves and act as social subjects in a collective community. In particular, I have highlighted the great powers of connecting generated from the persistent substantial properties represented and reproduced in rituals. These tangible objects (both material and verbal forms) are recalled and recognized as the most precious, sacred, and stable ancestral heritages by the Saisiyat. Through a dialectic way of interaction, subjects produce themselves through objects, while objects reincorporate back and become embodied in the subject (cf. Keane 1997:225). Thus, I have argued that

the Saisiyat are able to construct a collective consciousness and a cohesive community through materialized and embodied ritual experiences derived from cyclical and repetitive ritual practices. Based on these accumulated ritual experiences, the ancestral past, in forms of some distinctive material substances and bodily movements, is continuously regenerated and relived as the perceivable existence in the contemporary world.

Several points are pivotal in this dialectical constitution. First, the ancestral past that is represented and shared in ritual acts, actually shifts the group's attention from discontinuities and ambiguities experienced in everyday life. Second and more significantly, the sense of continuity and stability among the Saisiyat are less derived from the fixed sameness and resemblance at the surface level, but rely more on distinctive material and sensory associations perceived in bodily experiences. Eventually, those portable ritual materials and human bodies are elaborated as primary memory foci to produce transformative links with particular pasts via indexical references of substantial and sensuous qualities. Thus, it is not simply a matter of objectified things; it also requires ongoing sensory and bodily movements to actualize the past in the contemporary world.

However, we have to note that the incorporated model of ritual representation has adapted to the special memory demands of those Saisiyat on the margins. I have emphasized that repetitively reproducing ritual resources and enacting ancestral forms has to be understood as developing relations with *tatinni*--the spirits of the past who possess influential powers to grant blessing and prosperity, and to give misfortune and punishment. In order to receive a good return, the *tatinni* must be remembered and served by the living Saisiyat. Thus, the past resources, especially things or actions embedded with specific substantial qualities to satisfy the *tatinii* or contain memories of the *tatinii*, are being implored, competed over, and valued by the Saisiyat. From this point of view, the past is not just to fulfill the needs, but also to express the anxieties and hopes of the people. The complicated dialectical relationships between the past and present, the living Saisiyat and the *tatinii* are definitely the most important issue in ritual practices.

The dynamic roles of the past and its memory in the modern world have drawn increasing attention in recent discussions. Many scholars have pointed out that the memory of the past is a dynamic and dialectical process related to historical experiences and the preset needs. They have also argued that the past is not merely the residue of earlier acts, but involves appropriation and re-orientation by local people and thus is embedded with multiple potentials and meanings from the present point of view (Bourdieu [1972]1977, Hoskins 1993; Rowlands 1995; Clifford 1997; Lowenthal 1998; Lambek 2002). In one sense, the past is condensed, sedimented, and enacted to shape the present; in another sense, the desires and tensions in the present life for seeking a sense of wholeness, totality, and identity are projected into the past. The model of dialectical interaction has offered us new insights into fluid and multilayered relations between the past and the present.

In his recent study on annual rituals of Sakalava in Madagascar, Lambek (2002) has claimed that Sakalava rituals are not just formal events to be passively attended to but are likewise timespace within which ancestors are directly encountered; thus, the past is prevalent, pervasive, and resonant in rituals, which permeate ordinary life to impose actions and direct personal intentions (Lambek 2002). Responding to Anderson's concept of 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991), Lambek concludes by arguing that it is 'the "imagined continuity" which gives the "imagined community" its distinctive form, outlook, and sense of purpose. For him, it is the social imagination which provides a unique and privileged stance from which many Sakalava view their world. He writes,

> 'There is a sense of loss, breakdown, encapsulation, and of things not being what they were, but it is advanced and balanced by not only a vivid experience and rehearsal of continuity with the past but an active, imaginative, sometimes frustrated participation in the articulation of changes' (Lambek 2002:262).

His insightful ideas regarding the active past in contemporary ritual experiences are very inspiring for examining similar connections to the past displayed in Saisiyat ritual practices, where the past is also actively transformed and created in the articulation of changes. But, from another point of view, I have argued that 'the imagined continuity' of the Saisiyat is not just derived from

spontaneous invention or imagination, but is also grounded on the perceptions and sensibilities of the local people who are able to develop relatedness and connectedness through messages conveyed by divergent but interlinked tangible resources.

Several distinctive characters with regard to past and present relationships could be identified in Saisiyat ritual practices. Firstly, the past is embodied and resides in the body of each contemporary actor. In other words, the past endures and is transmitted in each individual's actions, depending on the consistency and persistence of ritual participation. Secondly, the past is alive and changeable to cope with contemporary fashions and challenges. The past is not something finished in the previous actions. It is regenerated in the present, and is thus dialectically reproduced in response to a specific context. In this sense, the past does not only direct the actions of the present, but is also cultivated in the present. Thirdly, the past tends to objectify and authenticate its existence and persistence in the present.

Material resources creating perceivable bonds with the past in the material and substantial forms are centred in the representational practices. It is obvious that the ritualized past, in the form of artefacts, foodstuffs, songs, or verses are seriously preserved or guarded as the inevitable elements in rituals. Nowadays, many ancestral resources relating to the past, such as precedent costumes, craft skills, land contracts, photos, personal names, indigenous language terms, or museums containing old things are extendedly conceived as valuable and desired 'objects' among the Saisiyat. To some extent, the distinctive material and sensuous mode of memory has provided a unique spatio-temporal framework for the Saisiyat to actualize ancestral acts ('*kasbongan*') and obtain ancestral knowledge ('*kasbongan*'). Thus, in this model, there is no clear boundary between act and knowledge, object and subject, or possession and being possessed. Eventually, these multilayered dialectical constructions arise greater flexibility and creativity in the process of cultivating connections.

Seeing from this light, we could say that on the one hand, the Saisiyat tend to possess the past through owning and enacting materialized ancestral resources; on the other hand, they are possessed by the past through actualizing regulations,

constrains, taboos, and moral ethics in ritual acts. In articulating with focused intentions, attentions and interests, Saisiyat individuals are enthusiastically collecting, creating, and competing for the ritual materials and ancestral resources. The past, in terms of cultural traditions, has coped with the global trends of modernization and commoditization and has become even more eagerly desired and openly competed for as 'scarce resources' in the contemporary world (cf. Appadurai 1981, Harrison 1999). For these reasons, I would draw on a series of interrelated contemporary events over searching, reproducing, competing, and transacting ancestral heritages to show how contradiction, creation, and negotiation continuingly interweave the threads of 'ancestral traditions' from the past into the present life. With distinctive mode of memory grounded in the non-verbal and non-linear awakening, the Saisiyat are actively modified and kept enacting the past resources in the present setting. In the sophisticated processes of remembering and forgetting, they have possessed dynamic forces of making transformative relatedness and creative continuity for constructing their identities from the past to the present, and up to the future.

7-1. Responding to Commoditization and Museumification

Moving with the global trend, the promotion of cultural tourism and heritage industry has become increasingly popular and fashionable in Taiwan for both economical and political reasons since the late 1980s. Many old and new indigenous objects with traditional patterns or those which evoke traditional skills have been reproduced as scarce and precious resources. In an effort to cultivate economic developments and cultural awareness in mountainous villages, the local government of the Nanzhuang Township, for the past 10 years, has been very supportive of cultural-economic projects. They arranged several craft training programs on weaving, basket making, or needling for local indigenous villagers. Furthermore, they helped several indigenous families to set up guesthouses for tourists, and built an outdoor recreational ground in the settlement of Pakwali where a group of Saisiyat villagers were organized to perform traditional songs, dances, and customs.

However, due to external and internal conflicts and competitions, the performing programs in the indigenous settlement did not succeed very long. The recreational ground was gradually closed down within four years. This was related to the tension caused by controversial issues on how to keep a balance between commercialization and restriction on ritual resources. Since most tourists who came to Saisiyat villages were interested in the mystical *pas-taai* ritual, the performers modified some *pas-taai* scenarios in the program. However, quite a few conventional Saisiyat in other villages objected and criticized these acts as commoditizing sacred ancestral heritages to entertain tourists. The hidden tensions of playing *pas-taai* ritual secrets had frequently spread in rumours.

It is apparent that the desire of indigenous people to possess ancestral resources becomes greater and more extensive not only in the ritual sphere but also in the mundane sphere. For reasons more related to expressing personal and cultural pride than to making economic profits, several Saisiyat craft studios have been established since 1996.[1] According to the owners, their craft studios were established mainly for the purposes of expressing ancestral skills and promoting Saisiyat artistic traditions, and not for making money. This is in fact, true to some degree, because none of them have made great profits. None of them could make a living totally relying on producing and selling craft works, because commercial networks and buyers are not expectable. Thus, the prices and the time-labour investments are not balanced, not to mention that the post-production processes such as wrapping or marketing are too difficult to manage. However, in the eyes of other Saisiyat villagers, these craft houses are often conceived as making more money and having a better life by selling ancestral things. Thus, some people admire this and feel proud of their output that help enrich ancestral skills, whereas some others are jealous and question the rights these people have to make and sell objects built from ancestral wisdom. Somehow, it shows again that people are anxious if others make profits via commoditizing ancestral traditions.

---

[1] These are the Waro Craft Studio which weaves textile, the Penglai Craft Studio which makes bamboo and rattan baskets, Awei Craft Studio which produces wood carving , and Biling Craft Studio which makes wood and bamboo works .

Implicitly or explicitly, artefacts and commodities made by traditional skills or with ancestral patterns become additional sources and new paths to connect with the past and to make political-economic profits in the modern world. Conflicts and arguments are extended to control over resources and memories of related skills and knowledge. In this regard, the articulation of ancestral and ritual traditions with commoditization, tourism, and political agenda in the modern life is a work-in-progress in the process of competition and negotiation.

An announcement made by the chairman of the Saisiyat *Pas-taai* Ritual Council in 2004 had expressed the strong anxieties of the Saisiyat regarding the great number of non-Saisiyat tourists, visitors, and media reporters who were crushed into the small ritual site. In his speech, the chairman urged non-Saisiyat visitors who were interested in attending the *pas-taai* respected Saisiyat ritual and did not disturb ritual processes. He reminded people that the Saisiyat *pas-taai*, unlike Han Chinese festivals or Western carnivals, is dangerous by possessing strong constructive and destructive powers. For this reason, the ritual committee announced to have only three ritual days open to the participation of others, and that non-Saisiyat visitors would be welcomed to join the ritual dancing and singing only after 12 o'clock midnight.[2]

The restrictive rules or ritual participation have evolved in response to the increasing number of tourists that have gradually exceeded the manageability of the small population of Saisiyat. At a practical level, the regulations paved the way to reconcile current conflicts. However, tourist numbers have kept increasing year after year. As such, more radical opinions have become stronger among the Saisiyat in the recent years. Some suggested the ritual committee shall close all mountain passes to stop the non-Saisiyat tourists coming on in the ritual days. No one knows what new changes will come in the future, but it is apparent that in the process of adapting to the expanding world, redefinition and transformation are inevitable and vital for the transmission of Saisiyat ancestral traditions.

---

[2] He asked tourists to come only during three public dancing and singing days, although days of ritual practice are much longer.

Moreover, reproducing Saisiyat ancestral connections is not only entangled with the complicated influences of commoditization and tourism, it is also subject to institutionalized cultural heritage organizations, such as museums. In the last decade of the 20th century, with the introduction of external scholars and administrative workers, the museum has been highly anticipated and desired in Saisiyat villages as a container to preserve ancestral traditions and a place to increase job opportunities. As a result, two tribal museums were established in two separate Saisiyat villages. One is the 'Xin-zhu County *Pas-taai* Ritual Artifact House', which is located beside the North Saisiyat *pas-taai* ritual house. It was established in 1994 with very limited construction resources funded by the county government. Without any follow-up operational budget given by the subsidiary office, this small house storing few *pas-taai* ritual materials and old craft works is mainly open during *pas-taai* ritual days or upon the request of special groups. Since the administrator in the Wufeng Township office who keeps the key of this house is also a member of the *Titijun* clan (ritual host clan of *pas-taai*), this small museum is handled and managed like an extended ritual house.

In comparison, another larger museum in South Saisiyat, the Saisiyat Folk Cultural Museum', caused more disputes and conflicts. This museum construction project was initiated in 1997 since the provincial government promised to give the Nanzhuang local government a large amount of construction fees. The idea of building a Saisiyat museum was welcomed by indigenous villagers in the neighbourhood for both cultural and economic reasons. Some of them even enthusiastically proposed to donate their reservation lands for building the museum. After many meetings and discussions made between administrative officers, architects, as well as Saisiyat elders and representatives, the new Saisiyat museum was built in the *pas-taai* ritual site of South Saisiyat. A magnificent three-storey museum building with 6000 square meters was finished in 2002 by the lakeside (see Photo 7-1).

The museum building shows distinctive Saisiyat weaving patterns and special bamboo crafting skills on the roof and exterior walls. In addition, its claimed aims are to collect and exhibit Saisiyat ritual objects, *sinayhou* names, historical photos, and crafts. Thus, it is viewed by the Saisiyat not just as a

modern cultural institution, but more as an ancestral entity associated with *pas-taai* ritual and ancestral pasts. However, contradictions and arguments regarding the museum's operations had increased among government administrators and indigenous villagers. Many Saisiyat strongly opposed the idea that the government-funded museum situated beside the *pas-taai* ritual ground would be placed under the direction of a non-Saisiyat government worker; many were also against that the museum café would be commissioned to a non-Saisiyat businessman. Due to the serious disagreement of operational arrangement and short of operational budget, the museum has remained closed and empty for over one and half years since its construction.

In the spring of 2004, a group of Saisiyat representatives and elders, upon hearing that unfavourable decisions would be made by the county government, went to the county hall to file a formal protest objecting to the government's plan of operating the museum. Finally, in order to avoid further demonstrations, the county government volunteered some compromises. A few months later, the contract of running the museum café was given to a Saisiyat woman. She later opened a café decorated with Saisiyat weaving patterns and employed a few young Saisiyat students and housewives as workers in the café. In July 2004, the museum temporarily opened its door with the appointment of a Saisiyat man to oversee its operation.

Definitely, this was not the end of contradiction and negotiation. More external contradictions between the government administrators, visitors, and the Saisiyat villagers are expected to evolve; more internal debates about people from which clan or which settlement would be more appropriate to lead or guard the new museum would arise. Besides, a more implicit hidden problem is still around. By being located in the east side of the *pas-taai* ritual site, the museum has an inherent conflict to block the route of *taai* spirits when they make a journey to come and leave the Saisiyat world in the ritual performances. In this regard, the museum can be a new factor for adding Saisiyat ancestral connections in the positive side but it can also cause negative effects and unexpected conflicts to the Saisiyat. Nevertheless, the complexity and ambiguity is nothing new to the

indigenous people, what is more important for the Saisiyat is to possess it and use it in a negotiated way.

The trend toward globalization of cultural heritages has become an inevitable issue in the modern Saisiyat world. An interesting event has shown that Saisiyat ritual resource could be reproduced as an international and global commodity. In 2003, Disney Television International-- Asia Pacific (WDTVI-AP) proposed a project to produce an animation TV series entitled 'Legends of the Ring of Fire' focusing on presenting indigenous stories in the Asia-Pacific area. In this TV series, a Saisiyat legend depicting the Lady Thunder and Lightning *waen* (the spirit worshiped in the *a'uwal* ritual) was the only story chosen from Taiwan. In order to transfer the story into a commercialized animation program, Disney signed a contract with a Saisiyat storywriter who is a member of the *Sawan* clan—the host clan of *a'uwal* ritual. They also employed a few Saisiyat to be voice actors in the indigenous language version. This issue had become a very popular subject in local conversations. When the animation production was finished in 2004, several previews had been held in the Council of Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan and the Saisiyat Folk Cultural Museum. Many Saisiyat were fascinated by the beautiful and lively animation program, and were very proud that their story could be presented in the famous international channel. As a commoditized product, the animation of the *waen* story that gave no threats to ritual secrecies, has been welcomed and appreciated as promoting Saisiyat ritual and cultural heritage to the global world.

From the above cases, we can see paradoxical possibilities on the commoditization and museumification of ancestral heritages. The positive effects are frequently entangled with the negative effects. On the one hand, they are considered as providing new paths to create economic-political resources and ancestral connections. The economic and political development could enhance people's incentives to express their pride of cultural identity more explicitly. But, on the other hand, they are simultaneously regarded as being embedded in negative forces to diminish or deconstruct existing resources and connections; the rapid growth of external influences could cause social incompatibility and disconnectedness among the minority populations. Thus, these new resources are

desired and competed over, but are also anxiously restricted and controlled. The recent phenomena of commoditization and museumification of ancestral resources once again reflect that continually debating, negotiating and reconciling are pivotal in creating relations with the past and the others, which have been sophisticatedly manipulated in the way of building a Saisiyat community.

7-2. Desired and Contested Ancestral Resources

In the autumn of 2001, when I returned to Nangzhuang for my follow-up fieldwork, my friend *umau·a baxi* drove his newly purchased second-hand truck to meet me at the Town centre. In his late 30s, *umau* spent almost 20 years of his youth working as a car repairman's assistant in the capital city. He gave up life in the city, went back to his home village, and lived with his parents after he married his Saisiyat wife *lalo* who also returned from a city factory. Other than helping his parents cultivate commercial vegetables in their reservation lands, *umau* purchased a truck to transport goods for people who did not have a car. At the time we met, he told me happily and anxiously that he was taking a special class in the Town centre to learn using Romanised letters to write Saisiyat. He was trying to pass an exam to acquire an indigenous language teacher license. Due to a new language policy announced by the Taiwanese government, each primary school should devote at least two hours a week to teach local languages. Since most school teachers cannot speak indigenous language well, while people who can speak indigenous languages fluently did not have higher educational degrees, a national exam for certifying indigenous language teachers was considered to be given in the forthcoming year of 2002. Benefiting from the localization movement in Taiwan, *umau* was hoping to become a Saisiyat language teacher. Though the payment was not very attractive, he was proud of doing something decent and still devoted to their cultural traditions.

On the way back to his house, *umau* enthusiastically told me things that happened within the year I had been away. In our conversations, his subjects moved to the recent ritual awakening phenomena in Saisiyat villages. He mentioned a new ritual initiated a year earlier. There was a small group of Saisiyat that climbed up to the peak of Mt. Dabajian in the Xueba National Park, the

highest mountain in the north Taiwan where most Saisiyat believe the Creator (*oppoeh na boon*) lived, and practiced a small ritual to worship the Creator.

According to *umau*, the *Babai* clan, which has had a mythical connection with *oppoeh na boon*, was going to organize a larger scale communal ritual over there this year. Although, like many other Saisiyat, *umau* was glad to see people becoming more interested in participating in ancestral activities, he was also anxious if the newly revived rituals would contradict and dilute the authentic ancestral traditions. He was alerted that the ritual activities which evolved recently employed too many Chinese religious objects and actions; such as using incenses, burning paper money, having spirit possessions, and establishing a fixed temple to worship spirits associated with different clans in one place, etc. These anxieties were increasing among those who belong to the ritual host clans of major communal rituals.

By knowing that I was interested in attending the forthcoming *oppoeh na boon* ritual at Mt. Dabajian, *umau* phoned people in the Council for Promotion of Saisiyat Affairs to check the exact ritual date. He was told that the actual time had not been fully decided by the *tatinii*, but it should be within a few days. Very spontaneously, the next day afternoon, we received a phone call informing us that the ritual was going to be held the following day. Thus, in the very early morning of the following day, the general secretary of the Council of Saisiyat Affairs, *taos a umau*, came to take us in his four-wheel drive. It took more than four hours to drive up to the peak area which was around 2000 meters in height. When our van arrived at the visitor center in the Xueba National Park at about ten o'clock in the morning, other cars, vans, and trucks had also brought many Saisiyat from different villages and the clans congregated there. In total, there were over one hundred persons including men, women, and children from all 14 Saisiyat clan groups who participated (see Photo 2-1 & Photo 7-5).

Elders and members of the ritual host clan found an open ground facing Mt. Dabajian (*oppoeh na boon*) as the ritual site. Each household took out food offerings they prepared and placed them on the ground. They offered a wide variety of foodstuffs, including different kinds of Saisiyat ritual foods such as *tinaobun* (sticky rice cake), *sinpaepae* (steamed sticky rice), *tata* (steamed millet),

and *binosagan* (sticky rice wine); Chinese style ritual offerings, such as chicken, pork, fish, duck, incense, paper spirit money, as well as modern packaged things, such as cookies, canned food, cigarettes, juices and soft drinks.

This ritual progressed by miming other Saisiyat communal rituals. A formal ritual dialogue was first conducted by male elders from 14 Saisiyat clans who sat in a circle. Starting from the ritual host clan, they each expressed their attachments to ancestors and happiness to come back to the original localities. After these dialogues, ritual offerings were presented to the ancestors, in which a traditional *homabes* was first made by using bamboo sticks, bamboo cups, and bamboo pipes; it was followed by a Taoist approach to burning incenses and paper spirit money. In the middle of the food offerings and prayers, a young man from the ritual host clan was possessed by the spirit of a male ancestor. He spoke like an old man and asked the Saisiyat to remember offering him food, clothes, and tobacco, and especially not to forget ancestral traditions. After drinking some wine and having a cigarette, the spirit left the possessed body.

After finishing the ritual offerings, all the participants shared their food with one another. Some elders gathered to observe the mountain of *oppoeh na boon* from different angles. They admired the beauty of the mountain and recited the story of *oppeoh na boon* and his wife *maya* (also his sister according to some versions) to the younger generations. In the meantime, a few officers and policemen from the Management Bureau of the National Park came over to declare it was not allowed to set any fire inside the National Park. Knowing it was for a ritual to commemorate the Saisiyat Creator, they told the people to proceed with the burning cautiously and quickly without posting any fines.

From the above processes, we could find that the newly invented ritual combines elements of the old and new, and conjures the temporalities of traditional and modern elements. The ritual and ancestral resources were recreated not only by projecting the past to the present, but also by articulating the desires, intentions, and conditions in modern life in consonance with the past. In fact, the recent active ritual movements of the Saisiyat in searching for multiple resources to activate more connections with the *tatinii* are not just limited in the Island of Taiwan.

Following the expansion of local knowledge to overseas countries and peoples, a symbolic journey was made by the Saisiyat to visit a group of pygmies in the Philippines. The meeting with the Aeta reflects the desire of searching for ancestral resources and the quest for ancestral connections.

On June 14, 1998, a group of about 30 persons, including Saisiyat elders, indigenous legislators, and journalists made a four-day trip to visit the Aeta in the Philippines. This trip was arranged by a Saisiyat young man who owned a travel agency in Taipei. The trip's goal was to find out if the short and dark-skinned pigmies are related to the legendary *taai* (dwarf spirit) worshiped by the Saisiyat.[3] This Saisiyat investigating group went to an Aeta settlement and met with the villagers. In a newspaper report, the Saisiyat elders expressed their opinions by stating that the melodies, fire-making tools, and hunting skills of the Aeta were about 40% similar to Saisiyat traditions. The interesting meeting between the two groups was depicted as:

> In order to understand whether the pygmies in the Philippines are related to the mythical *taai*, 30 Saisiyat elders made a long journey abroad. They put on their traditional costumes and walked into the dense forests where the Aeta live. They initiated an exceptional trip of indigenous communication across the seas. The meeting of these two groups was very intimate. The Saisiyat representatives brought four boxes of cigarettes and foodstuff as gifts to the Aeta. In the smiles and hugs between the people of both groups, the spatial-temporal distance suddenly vanished....The Saisiyat used their traditional ritual ways to approach the Aeta; a male representative from the *Tawtawazai* clan first made a speech to the Aeta in Saisiyat. He said once he entered the forest of the Aeta, he recalled respectful Saisiyat ancestors who transmitted the story of *taai* from generation to generation; he was too touched and was almost not able to prevent his tears from falling....The female leader of the Aeta also expressed her thanks and welcomes. Then, both groups shared the Saisiyat wine through the Saisiyat way of drinking. They started to sing and dance. Although their language and dance were different, the atmosphere was happy, warm, and interesting.' (Freedom Times, 1998/06/16)

---

[3] The Saisiyat had learned from some geographical and tourist information that the Aetas are one group of Pygmies inhabiting in the Philippines. The Aetas are said to be the smallest peoples on earth with an average height of below five feet. Also, like what is characterized in the Saisiyat *taai* myth, the Aetas have very dark skin and dark kinky hair.

Definitely, the Saisiyat elders did not have an answer if the Aeta are related to the mythical *taai* after they came back from this trip. Many elders said that the Aeta are not like the *taai* mentioned in the legendry stories; the *taai* had much higher technologies and superior powers than the Saisiyat. They regretted to find that the life of the Aeta was much less resourceful than the present Saisiyat. But many of them were still confused why the appearance of the Aeta really looked like the *taai* described by ancestors, and why some of the Aeta vocabulary and traditional objects are similar to the Saisiyat. However, like the ritual trip made to the Xueba National Park in Taiwan, this overseas journey to the Philippines also reflected the enthusiasm of the Saisiyat to explore and expand their ritual relations and ancestral resources into a broader world that they deal with in the present life. For the Saisiyat, the past, even the ritualized past, is prolonged through actively reproducing and transforming according to their contemporary resources, knowledge, and intentions.

7-3. Creative Pasts for Negotiating Identities

As I have portrayed in previous discussions, the sense of continuity and identity among the Saisiyat is constructed and reconstructed in the midst of loss, contradictions, and discontinuities. Under these circumstances, the Saisiyat cultivate very active past and present relations which not just recollect clues and duplicate traces of the past, but also actively reproduce and enliven the past corresponding to present intentions through negotiation and reconciliation. In this way, the past is fluidly evoked and actualized based on transformative linkages. It is objectified by the portable and movable material symbols, and is made sedimentary in human bodies through sensory interactions. Thus, in contrast to the linear premise of a "lost and found" past, the materialized past is derived from sensory memory which implies an anti-historical reunification and emotional re-immersion in its temporal framework. It rarely anchors on duplicating the exact origins, but emphasizes on encasing and embodying 'a dispersed surrounding of created things, surfaces, depths, and densities that give back refractions of one's own sensory biographies (Seremetakis 1994: 129).

However, these transformative linkages reside in the interplays of objectification, analogical extension, and intersensory transference. It involves a series of gradual retentions and substitutions entailing sensorial, perceptual, and memory effects. The retention of primary traits evokes the reproduction of secondary traits; the retention of secondary traits, in turn, evokes the reproduction of third traits (Seremetakis 1994, Gell 1998, Casey [1987]2000). For these reasons, I would argue that the power of 'creative continuity' is also closely related to the power of retaining substantial qualities through reproduction. As the bearer of sensory multiplicity, an artifact could be conceived as a focused zone of perceptions, or an 'extended mind of persons' (Seremetakis 1994, Gell 1998). From this perspective, it could further be explained by how the past and the subjective identity could be recoverable and reconstructible from the re-enacted material world.

As we have shown, identity is based on the notion of 'relatedness', from which people create similarities or differences between 'self' and 'others' (Carsten 2004). The distinction between 'self' and 'others' is highly variable according to how people relate themselves to a range of things which demarcate boundaries of space, actions, or various material objects. Thus, seen from this light, we could say that the Saisiyat have possessed distinctive techniques to connect to their ancestors and bind their society. Moreover, the special power of the transformative and creative way of connecting is mainly derived from substantial and sensory qualities in ancestral materials.

It is interesting to point out that in contrast to the creative connectedness embedded in ritual materials as described above, the material culture of the Saisiyat have frequently been commented on as having very little creative expressions in comparison to those of other indigenous groups in Taiwan. Many people consider the complexity of decorative patterns and technology as a reflection of the intellectual level of aboriginal groups would supersede the creativity represented in the material culture of the Saisiyat. A popular concept of ranking indigenous groups in Taiwan based on material designs and techniques was fully expressed by Ino, a pioneer Japanese ethnologist who accounts,

> The less abstract the costume design becomes, the higher its intellectual level tends to be. The more concrete costume decoration becomes, the higher its intellectual level tends to be. The more costume decoration becomes neater, ordered and more symmetrical, the higher its intellectual level tends to be. Thus, the waving patterns of the Atayal costumes consist of straight lines and angles and elements arranged without clear orders, which reflect a lower intellectual level. The embroidery designs on the Paiwan costumes consist of pictorial animal figures and elements arranged in orders, which demonstrates a higher intellectual level. (Ino 1900:121)

From this perspective, the Saisiyat patterns, similar to the Atayal's, without concrete decorations would be placed in the lowest level. Anyhow, Ino's ideas have been widely accepted by the general public in Taiwan in evaluating indigenous material culture. This was why when I took a government commissioned project and started studying the material culture of the Saisiyat, many joked that I would finish the project within one month. It maybe because of the aesthetic and technological ranking concept imposed from the outside, or due to the ephemeral and interactional nature emphasized from the inside, that Saisiyat artifacts are the least collected and preserved collections in museums.[4] Very few attention has been paid to the creative relatedness and connectedness derived from the Saisiyat material foci, since it has to be represented through a more dynamic and complicated trajectory in a specific social context.

Being conceived as cultural traditions and desired valuables, the material symbol as memory foci are frequently desired and competed for within and outside the Saisiyat. Since the development of an identity is always an ongoing project, like memory, identity is never fixed nor completed. It is conceived to be stable based on the perceivable linkages with the past. If we take into account that remembering and forgetting are a dialectical process, the past is inevitably articulated with the politics of memory, where competitive power relations are constantly interacted upon between divergent agents. In this way, competing and transacting material symbols heads toward the blurring of differences, which could open up fresh possibilities for inclusiveness on the one hand, but threaten

[4] In the leading ten museums holding indigenous collections in Taiwan, the sum total collected Saisiyat artifacts are less than 170 pieces. Hu 1996:108.

the sense of continuity and commonality on the other (Appadurai 1981, Harrison 1995 & 1999, Lambek 1998, Carsten 2004). This dilemma of boundary crossing and stabilizing has become a critical issue that always seeks to be reconciled with in Saisiyat ritual performances.

Following the movements of globalization and indigenization, more and more indigenous societies are trying to find new paths to sustain their cultural heritages and past legacies for constructing indigenous identities. A series of popular cultural movements, such as the celebration of customs in the form of artworks and crafts, art festivals, tourist events, and rituals, are spreading out to every corner in the world. As to the question whether this trend could offer a resolution of contradictions between ancestral ways and the modern world, there are two contrasting approaches to evaluate.

One regards this as a process to fetishize and fragmentize culture; it directs to an 'inauthentic' culture imagined as "traditional" music, dances, costumes, or artifacts; another considers this as a kind of rebirth through recreated relatedness; the materialized past forms an 'authentic' path to cultural identity (Keesing 2000, Sahlins 1999). Definitely, there is no standardized answer for societies that have different socio-historical backgrounds. However, from the case of the Saisiyat, we can discover that their pasts and ancestral traditions have been condensed in ritual materials and actions following a long history of confrontation, negotiation, and construction. The discourses of conflict, resistance, and reconciliation are cast in ritual performances which repeatedly reproduce creative linkages through material and bodily interactions.

To conclude, the transmissibility of the Saisiyat is thus consistently represented and experienced through the objectification of ancestral traditions in ritual practices. The specialized mode of memory, as that of any other cultural forms, is at once a structural and historical process corresponding to the marginalization of a local society. Memory is the core of identity; therefore, where identity encounters more challenges, memory work becomes more critical. The strong anxiety in losing memory and cultural identity among the Saisiyat makes them more eager to solidify and possess it. In rituals and other public

gatherings, elders repeatedly remind the younger generation not to forget the *tatinii*, and the *pasbongan* (ancestral traditions)'.

For the Saisiyat, the memory of the past is inseparable from the practice of ancestral customs and wisdoms. The entangled desire and anxiety of ancestral memory reflects the 'self consciousness' of their minority status, and also expresses their active agency for generalizing diversities and transferring beyond the irresistible influences from the outside world. By repeatedly relating and re-linking to a ritualized past in bodily experiences, they construct a strong sense of continuity and identity. Thus, different from other officially classified indigenous groups in Taiwan whose ethnic labels were mainly assigned by Japanese anthropologists one hundred years ago due to the absence of internally derived labels and identities, the label 'Saisiyat' was a rare case that expresses the construction of local identity from within earlier than the introduction of scientific ethnographic classification during the Japanese colonization period.[5]

It must be admitted that all indigenous peoples in Taiwan have experienced exclusion, marginalization, or discrimination in the history of confrontation, colonization, and modernization. The attention paid to the rights of indigenous people in Taiwan did not commence until the 1980s. Under the efforts of the Association for Indigenous Rights and other groups for political reforms, a series of political changes, such as a new nomenclature of *yuanzhumin* (indigenous people) to substitute *shanbao* (mountain folks), legitimization of using indigenous personal names in registration, establishment of governmental institutions such as the Council of Indigenous Peoples, etc have been made. But, the first wave of ethno-political movement was more limited to the circles of indigenous elites, since the concept of this movement was not very familiar to and not understood by many indigenous people with various cultural traditions or different living spaces (Hsieh 1994, Faure 2000). However, in the late 1990s, a new wave of indigenous cultural movement evolved corresponding to the localization movement in Taiwan. Central and local governments have exerted more efforts in supporting local cultural activities for different economic and political reasons.

---

[5] See Chen 1999[1894]: 404 & Hu 2003 .

These activities are more appealing and relate to the general population's daily life, especially to those who still live in their villages. More and more indigenous people are enthusiastically involved in these activities to regenerate their ancestral traditions and to reproduce their cultural heritages for future developments. Following this trend, innumerable tribal craft studios, museums, and community centres have burst out within the last decade. Under these circumstances, the enhancement of local cultures and indigenous identities are intertwined with the promotion of Taiwanese consciousness and identity in responding to the stronger pressures of reunification imposed by the Chinese government.

To some extent, the society of Saisiyat mirrors and is a product of the transformation of Taiwan from an Austronesian inhabited tribal island into an industrialized Han Chinese dominant society within the past 400 hundred years. The construction of the Saisiyat past, memories, and identities presents a long-term project of a minority group which has to reconcile conflicts and contradictions to transcend beyond diversities and differences by creating relatedness through accumulating shared experiences and memories of the past through practices. The past could be a creative resource used to forge meanings in the present, to reinstitute a sense of stability and continuity, and thus to generate a ray of hope for the future. Facing the serious disputes over Taiwanese identity and nationality between Taiwan and China, it is important to think reflexively that people could have dynamically constructed their perceptions of difference and sameness for the objectification of 'self' and 'others'. The past and memory is creative and changeable, while the identity is a continuing process of negotiation and construction with multilayered and fluid characters. But, what is critical here is that which has been shared and accumulated in the long- term experiences. Thus, from this perspective, the boundary of the Saisiyat or non-Saisiyat, Taiwanese or non-Taiwanese, Chinese or non-Chinese is not just demarcated or defined by biological relations, migratory origins, and ideological historical assumptions, but is more dependent on the practical forms, lifestyles, and bodily experiences people have accumulated and shared through life.

Photo 7-1. The Saisiyat Folk Cultural Museum at the South Saisiyat *pas-taai* ritual site (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2003, Donghe)

Photo 7-2. Saisiyat high school students work in the Museum Café (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2004, Donghe)

Photo 7-3. A Saisiyat weaving studio at *Waro* was stablished in 2001 by a family from the *Babai* clan (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2001, Donghe)

Photo 7-4. A guest house at *Pakwali* was established in the 1990s by a family from the *Sawan* clan (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2002, Penglai)

Photo 7-5. The Saisiyat legend of *waen* (Lady Thunder and Lightning) was presented in an animated TV program made by the Disney-Asia (Provided by *umao a basi*, 2005)

Photo 7-6. Saisiyat clan representatives congregated and negotiated public affairs in the beginning of a recently created communal ritual --worship of *oppoeh-na-boon* (the Saisiyat Creator) in the Xveba National Park (Photographed by Chia-yu Hu, 2001, Guanwu)

Bibliography

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso.

Appadurai, Arjun, 1981. "The Past As A Scarce Resource," *Man* 16: 201-219.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1986. "Introduction: Toward an anthropology of Things," In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective.* Edited by Arjun Appadurai, pp. 3-63. Cambridge & N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.

Bartlett, F. 1932. *Remembering.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Barth, Fredrik. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Barth, Fredrik. 1975. *Ritual and Knowledge among the Baktaman of New Guinea.* New Heaven: Yale University Press.

Barth, Fredrik. 1987. *Cosmologies in the Making.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Bartlett, F. 1932. *Remembering.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Bateson, G. 1972. *Steps to an Ecology of Mind.* New York: Chandler.

Bax, B. W. 1875. *The Eastern Seas: A Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. "Dwarf" in China, Japan, and Formosa.* London: John Murray.

Benjamin, Walter. [1936]1968. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections.* Translated and edited by Arendt Hannah. New York: Schocken Books.

Bergson, Henri. [1896]1988. *Matter and Memory.* New York: Zone Books.

Bloch, Maurice. 1977. "The Past and the Present in the Present," *Man (N.S.)* 12: 278-292.

Bloch, Maurice. 1996. Internal and External Memory: Different Ways of Being in History. In *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory.* Edited by Paul Antze & Michael Lambek, pp. 215-234. N.Y. & London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, Pierre. [1972]1977. *Outline of A Theory of Practice.* Cambridge & N.Y: Cambridge University Press.

Bureau of Police Affaris, Commission General in Taiwan [1932] 1997. *A Drafted Gazetteer of Aboriginal Administration. Translated by* Chen, Chin-tian. Nantou: Historical Research Commission of Taiwan Province (in Chinese).

Bureau of Commission General in Taiwan. 1911. *Report on the Control of the Aborigines of Formosa.* Taihoku: General Government of Taiwan

Bureau of Statistics, Government of Taiwan. 2004. The *Statistic Research on the Population of Taiwan.* Taipei: Government of Taiwan.

Carsten, Janet. 2004. "Uses and Abuses of Substance," In *After Kinship.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Casey, Edward S. [1987]2000. *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study.*

Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana Univ. Press.

Chao, Fu-ming. 1987. *A Study of the Saisiyat Pas-taai.* Master Thesis, Department of Ethnic Groups and Overseas Chinese, University of Chinese Culture (in Chinese).

Chang, Ruei-gong. 1988. *A Research on the Social-cultural Changes of the Saisiyat – A Case Study of the Chihu and Shiangtianhu Groups.* Master Thesis, Department of Ethnic Cultures and Overseas Chinese, University of Chinese Culture (in Chinese).

Chen, Chao-lung. [1894]1999. *Interviews on the Area of Shin-chu Zhou.* Nantou: Historical Research Commission of Taiwan Province (in Chinese).

Chen, Pei-kuei. [1871]1963. *Gazetteer of the Danshui Ting.* Taipei: Institute of Economic Research, Bank of Taiwan (in Chinese).

Chen, Chun-Ching. 1966 "The Story of the Saisiyat in Shiangtianhu," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 22: 157-191(in Chinese).

Chen, Chun-ching 1968. "Functions of the Religion in the Saisiyat," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 26: 83-114 (in Chinese).

Chen, Shu-ping. 1998. *The Territorial Consciousness of the South Saisiyat.* Master Thesis, Department of Geography, National Teacher's Normal University (in Chinese).

Chen, Yun-dong & Ruei-gong Chang. 1994. *The Historical Descriptions of Saisiyat Pas-taai.* Taipei: Huashia Press (in Chinese).

Cheng, I-yih. 1987. *Preliminary Research on the Saisiyat Annual Rituals and the Relations Between Social Groups: A Case of the Raromoan Settlement.* Master Thesis, Department of Anthropology, National University of Taiwan (in Chinese).

Cheng, I-yih. 1989. "Descent, Locality and Ritual: Three Saishiat Rituals' Study on Rarumoan," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sincia* 67: 109-142 (in Chinese).

Chiang, Jih-sheng. [1704]1960. *Unofficial Record of Taiwan.* Taipei: Bank of Taiwan (in Chinese).

Clifford, James. 1997. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century.* Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard Univ. Press.

Comaroff, Jean. 1985. *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Comaroff, John & Jean Comaroff. 1992. *Ethnography and The Historical Imagination.* Boulder, San Francisco & Oxford: Westview Press.

Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Csordas, Thomas J. 1994. *Embodiment And Experience: The Existential Ground of Culture and Self.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Davidson, James W. 1903. *The Island of Formosa: Historical View From 1430 to 1900.* New York: Macmillan.

Douglas, Mary. [1970]1996. *Natural Symbols.* London & New York: Routledge.

Douglas, Mary. [1975]1993. *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology.* London & N.Y.: Routledge.

Durkheim, Emile. [1912]1965. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life.* N.Y. & London: The Free Press.

Fabian, Johannes. 1983. *Time and The Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object.* New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

Farnell, B. 1999. "Moving Bodies, Acting Selves," *Annual Reviews of Anthropology* 28: 341-373.

Faure, David. 2000. "Recreating the Indigenous Identity in Taiwan: Cultural Aspirations in their Social and Economic Environment," In *Austronesian Taiwan: Linguistics, History, Ethnology, and Prehistory.* Edited by David Blundell, pp.97-103. Berkeley, CA & Taipei, Taiwan: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology & Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines.

Fentress, James & Chris Wickham. 1988. *Social Memory.* Oxford, UK & Cambridge, USA: Blackwell.

Feuchtwang, Stephan. 2000. "Reinscriptions: Commemoration, Restoration and the Interpersonal Transmission of Histories and Memories under Modern States in Asia and Europe," In *Memory and Methodology.* Edited by Susannah Radstone, pp.59-78. Oxford: Berg.

Fox, James. 1979. " 'Standing' in Time and Place: The Structure of Rotinese Historical Narratives, " In *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia.* Edited by A. Reid and D. Marr. Asian Studies Association Publication no. 4. Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books.

Fox, James. 1987. " The House as a Type of Social Organization on the Island of Roti, Indonesia," In *De la Hutte au Palais.* Edited by C. MacDonald. Paris: C.N.R.S.

Gell, Alfred. 1975. *Metamorphosis of the Cassowaries: Umeda Society, Language and Ritual.* London: Athlone.

Gell, Alfred. 1977. Magic, Perfume, Dream. In *Symbols and Sentiments: Cross-cultural Studies in Symbolism.* Edited by Ioan Lewis. London: Academia Press.

Gell, Alfred. 1992. *The Anthropology of Time.* Oxford: Berg.

Gell, Alfred . 1998. *Art and Agency.* Oxford & New York: Claredon Press.

Godelier, Maurice. 1984. *The mental and the Material: Thought, Economy, and Society.* Translated by Martin Thom. London: Thetford Press.

Godelier, Maurice. 1999. *The Enigma of the Gift.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Goody, Jack. 1968. *Literacy in Traditional Societies.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Halbwachs, Maurice. [1925]1980. *The Collective Memory.* New York: Harper and Row.

Halbwachs, Maurice. 1992. *On Collective Memory.* Chicago: Univ. of Chicago.

Harrison, Simon. 1990. *Stealing People's Name: History and Politics in s Sepik River Cosmology.* Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Harrison, Simon. 1992. "Ritual As Intellectual Property," *Man* 27(2): 225-244.

Harrison, Simon. 1995. "Four Types of Symbolic Conflict," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 1(2): 255-272.

Harrison, Simon. 1999. "Identity As A Scarce Resource," *Social Anthropology* 7: 239-251.

Hegel, G. [1807]1977. *Phenomenology of Spirit.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hoskins, Janet. 1993. *The Play of Time: Kodi Perspectives on Calendars, History, and Exchange.* Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: Univ. of California Press.

Hoskins, Janet. 1998. *Biographical Objects: How Things the Stories of People's Life.* New York & London: Routledge.

Hsieh, Shih-chung. 1994. "From *Shanbao* to *Yuanzhumin*: Taiwan Aborigines in Transition," In *The Other Taiwan, 1945 to the Present.* Edited by Murray A. Rubinstei. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Hu, Chia-yu. 1996. *Material Culture of the Saisiyat: Tradition and Transformation.* Taipei: Bureau of Civil Affairs (in Chinese).

Hu, Chia-yu. 2000. "Artifacts, Visual Communication and Social Memory: Preliminary Research of the Saisiat Ritual Objects," *Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology* 54: 114-141 (in Chinese).

Hu, Chia-yu. 2004. "Ritual Foods and *Tatinii* Memories of the Saisiyat: Links between Cultural Imagery and Sensory Experiences", In *Substance and Material Cultures.* Edited by Ying-kuei Huang, pp.171-210. Nangang: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica (in Chinese).

Hu, Chun. [1894]1960. *Dairies and Memorials of Taiwan.* Taipei: Institute of Economic Research, Bank of Taiwan.

Hu, Tai-li. 1995. "The Overlapping Images in the Ritual Songs and Dances of Saisiyat *Pas-taai* Ritual," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 79: 1-61 (in Chinese).

Hu, Tai-li. 1998. "Cultural Reality and Performance: Saisiat and Paiwan Experiences," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 84: 61-86 (in Chinese).

Hu, Tai-Li & Hsieh Feng-jun. 1993. "Words and Melodies of Ritual Songs of Saisiyat *Pas-taai* in the Wufeng Area," *Compiled Materials of* the *Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sincia* 8: 1-77 (in Chinese).

Huang, Shu-jing. [1724]1957. *Mission to the Savages Across the Sea to Taiwan.* Taipei: Research Institute of Economics, Bank of Taiwan (in Chinese).

Huang, Ying-kuei. 1986. "Two Types of Taiwan Aboriginal Societies and Their Meanings," In *Studies of Aboriginal Societies and Cultures in Taiwan.* Edited by Ying-kuei Huang.Taipei: Lienjing Press, pp.3-43 (in Chinese).

Huyssen, Andreas. 1995. *Twilight Memories: Making Time in A Culture of Amnesia.* London: Routledge.

Inō, Kanori. 1897-1912. *The diaries of Taiwan Investigations*. Translated by Yang Nan-jun. Taipei: Yuan-liu Press (in Chinese).

Inō, Kanori. 1898. "The Classification of the Formosan Aborigines and Their Current Evolutionary Status", *Bulletin of the Society of Aboriginal Studies*, 1: 2-15 (in Japanese).

Inō, Kanori. 1899. "Survey of the 'Peipo' Tribes in Taiwan, *Bulletin of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo*, 154: 126-136 (in Japanese).

Ino, Kanori 1900, "The Mind of the Formosan Aborigines—Aesthetic Design," *Journal of the Native Languages of Taiwan*, 5: 76-81 (in Japanese).

Ino, Kanori. 1904. *Historical Description on the Aboriginal Policy in Taiwan.* Taipei: Bureau of Commission General, Taiwan (in Japanese).

Ino, Kanori. 1928. *A Cultural History of Taiwan, 3 vols.* Tokyo: Tokoshoin (in Japanese).

Inō, Kanori & Ayano, Tennojo. 1900. *Report on the Aborigine Matters in Taiwan*, Taihoku: Bureau of Commission General, Taiwan (in Japanese).

Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. 1998 *Survey Reports on the Customs Formosan Aborigines, Vol. 3, The Saisiyat.* Translated from Kojima 1917. Nangang: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica (in Chinese).

Jiang, Ri-sheng. [1704]1960. *Unofficial Record of Taiwan.* Taipei: Institute of Economic Research, Bank of Taiwan (in Chinese).

Kantorowicz, E. H. 1957. *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology.* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press.

Keane, Webb. 1997. *Signs of Recognition: Powers and Hazards of Representation in an Indonesian Society.* Berkeley and LA, CA: Univ. of California Press.

Keesing, Roger M. 2000. Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific. In *Voyaging Through the Contemporary Pacific.* Edited by David & Geoffrey W. White Hanlon. N.Y.& Oxford: Rowan & Littlefield.

Kojima, Y. 1917. *Survey Reports on the Customs Formosan Aborigines, Vol. 3, The Saisiyat* . Taihoku: The Provisional Investigational Committee of Taiwan's Old Customs (in Japanese).

Kuchler, Susanne.1987. "Malangan: Art and Memory in a Melanesian Society," *Man* 22: 238-255.

Kuchler, Susanne. 1999. The Place of Memory. In *The Art of Forgetting.* Oxford & New York: Berg.

Kurosawa, Takatoma A. 1973. *The Music of Taiwan's Mountain Tribes.* Tokyo: Shunshange Press (in Japanese).

Lambek, Michael. 1996. The Past Imperfect: Remembering As Moral Practice. In *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*, pp. 235-254. Edited by Paul Antze & Michael Lambek. N.Y. & London: Routledge.

Lambek, Michael. 1993. *Knowledge and Practice in Mayotte: Local Discourses of Islam, Sorcery, and Spirit Possession.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

1998. Body and Mind in Mind, Body and Mind in Body: Some Anthropological Interventions in A Long Conversation. In *Bodies and Persons: Comparative Perspectives From Africa and Melanesia*, pp 103-23. Edited by Michael Lambek & Andrew Strathern. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lambek, Michael. 2002. *The Weight of the Past: Living with History in Mahajanga, Madagascar.* New York: Macmillan.

Levi-Strauss, Claude. [1949]1969. *The Elementary Structures of Kinship.* London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.

Levi-Strauss, Claude. 1966. *The Savage Mind.* Chicago: Univ. of Chicago.

Levi-Strauss, Claude. [1962]1973. *Totemism.* Middlesex: Penguin.

Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 1992. *Phonetic Symbols for Documenting Formosan Austronesian Language.* Taipei: Committee of Education Development, Bureau of Education.

Lin, Heng-li. 1956. "Lyrics of the Saisiyat *Pas-taai* Ritual Songs," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 2 :31-108 (in Chinese).

Lindstrom 1985. "Personal Names and Social Reproduction on Tanna, Vanuatu," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 94: 27-45.

Lim, Xiu-Theh. 1997. *The Naming System of the Saisiyat.* Taipei: Tang-shan Press (in Chinese).

Lim, Siu-Theh. 2000. *The History of Formosan Aborigines -- Saisiyat.* Nantou: Historical Research Commission of Taiwan Province (in Chinese).

Liu, Ming-chuan. 1958. *Memorials of Liu Ming-chuan.* Taipei: Institute of Economic Research, Bank of Taiwan (in Chinese).

Lowenthal, David. 1998[1996]. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

1985. *The Past Is A Foreign Country.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Mabuchi, Toichi. 1974. *Ethnology of the Southeastern Pacific: the Ryukyus, Taiwan, and Insular Southeast Asia*, Asian Folklore and Social Life Monographs 59. Taipei: The Oriental Cultural Service.

Mabuchi, Toichi. 1953. "Migration and Distribution of the Formosan Aborigines," *The Japan Journal of Ethnology*, 18(1/2): 123-154 (in Japanese).

Mackay, George Lesile. 1896. *From Far Formosa.* Edinburgh & London: Anderson & Ferrier.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1922. *Argonauts of the western Pacific; an account of native enterprise and adventure in the archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea.* London: Routledge & Sons.; New York, E.P. Dutton & Co.,

Mauss, Marcel. 1925. The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic

Societies. Translated by W. D. Halls. London & N.Y.: Routledge.

Melion, Walter & Susanne Kuchler. 1991. Introduction: Memory, Cognition, and Image Production . In *Images of Memory: On Remembering and Representation.* Edited by Susanne & Walter Melion Kuchler, pp.3-32. Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Merleau-Ponty, M. 1962. *Phenomenology of Perception.* London: Routledge.

Miller, Danniel. 1987. *Material Culture and Mass Consumption.* Oxford UK & Cambridge USA: Blackwell.

Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs. 1998. The Population of Aboriginal Groups in Taiwan. Taipei: Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, Government of Taiwan.

Mimica, Jadran. 1988. *Intimations of Infinity: The Mythopoeia of the Iqwaye Counting System and Number* . Oxford, New York, Hamburg: Berg.

Munn, Nancy D. 1970. "The Transformation of Subjects into Objects in Walbiri and Pitjantjatjara Myth," In *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology: Modern Studies in the Social Anthropology of the Australian Aborigines.* Edited by Ronald M. Bundt, pp. 141-63. Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press.

Munn, Nancy D. 1986. *The Fame of Gawa: A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society.* Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney: Cambridge University Press.

Munn, Nancy. 1995. "An Essay on the Symbolic Construction of Memory in the Kaluli Gisalo," In *Cosmos and Society in Oceania.* Edited by D. de Coppet & A. Iteann, pp. 83-104. Oxford: Berg.

Murdock, George P. 1949. In *Social Structure.* New York: Macwillan.

Narita, Takeshi. 1912. *Photo Collections of Formosan Aboriginal Tribes.* Tokyo: Narita Press.

Ortner, Sherry B. 1978. *Sherpas Through Their Rituals.* Cambridge & N. Y.: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Ortner, Sherry B. 1984. "A Theory of Anthropology Since the Sixties," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 126(1): 126-66.

Ortner, Sherry B. 1990. The Founding of Sherpa Religious Institutions. In *Culture Through Time: Anthropological Approaches.* Edited by Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, pp.57-93. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Pan, Chio-rong. 1998. *The Ritual of Heavenly Worship Among the Saisiyat.* Master Thesis, Taipei: National Chengchi University.

Radstone, Susannah. 2000. *Memory and Methodology.* Oxford & New York: Berg.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. 1922. *The Andaman islanders: a study in social anthropology.* Cambridge: The University press.

Ri, Wan-chi. 2003. *Ethnic Encounters and Identities: A Case Study of the Descendant Group of Ri Akwai in the Tanohila clan of the Saisiyat.* Master

Thesis, Department of Ethnology, University of Politics (in Chinese).

Ritual Committee of the North Saisiyat. 1988. *The Guide Book of Pas-taai and Pas-taai Ritual Songs*. Wufeng: Ritual Committee of North Saisiyat

Rowlands, Michael. 1993. "The Role of Memory in the Transmission of Culture," *World Archaoeology* 25(2) (Conceptions of Time and Ancient Society): 142-151.

Rowlands, Michael. 1995. A Question of Complexity. In *Domination and Resistance.* Edited by Daniel Michael Rowlands & Christopher Tilley Miller. London & New York: Routledge.

Sahlins, Marshall. 1985. *Islands of History.* Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.

Sahlins, Marshall 1999. "What is Anthropological Enlightenment? Some Lessons of the Twentieth Century," *Annual Reviews of Anthropology* (28): i-xxiii.

Said, Edward W. 1994. *Culture and Imperialism.* New York: Vintage Books.

Sayama, Yuichi. 1921. *Survey Reports on the Aborigines of Taiwan -- Paiwan & Saisiat.* Taihoku: Investigation Committee of Taiwan Aborigines (in Japanese).

Seremetakis, C. Nadia. 1994. *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity.* N.Y.: Westview Press.

Shepherd, John. 1993. *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Shih, Tian-fu. 1991. "Red Lines, Blue Lines; Taiwan's Aboriginal Boundary in Mid Chian-long Period," *Newsletter of Taiwan History Field Research* 1991: 46-50 (in Chinese).

Shih, Tian-fu. 2001. *Local Societies of Taiwan in the Qing Dynasty: A Historical-geographical Study of the Zhu-qian District.* Xin-zhu: Cultural Bureau of Xin-zhu County (in Chinese).

Steere, Joseph B.1876. "Travel Among the Aborigines of Formosa," *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 6: 302-334.

Stoller, Paul. 1995. *Embodying Colonial Memories: Spirit Possession, Power and the Hauka in West Africa.* New York & London: Routledge.

Stoller, Paul. 1989. *The Taste of Ethnographic Things: The Senses in Anthropology.* Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.

Strathern, Marilyn. 1988. *The Gender of the Gift.* Berkeley, Los Angeles &London: University of California Press.

Sun, Er-zhun. [1831]1978. *Drafted Memorials of Sun Er-zhun.* Beijing: Tianjin Archive Press.

Sutton, David E. 2001. *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory.* Oxford & New York: Berg.

Swinhoe, Robert S. 1863. Notes on the Ethnology of Formosa. London, Frederick Bell.

Takekoshi, Yosaburo. [1907] 1997. *Japanese Rule in Formosa.* Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc (in Japanese).

Taussig, Michael T. 1993. *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses.* N.Y. & London: Routledge.

Taylor, George. 1889. " Formosa; Characteristic Traits of the Island and Its Aboriginal Inhabitants," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society,* pp.224-239.

Tilley, Christopher. 1999. *Metaphor and Material Culture.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Turner, Victor. 1974. *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society.* Ithaca & London: Cornell Univ. Press.

Urton, Gary. 1997. *The Social Life of Numbers: A Quechua Ontology of Numbers and Philosophy of Arithmetic.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Utsushikawa, Nenozo and Miyamoto, Nobuto and Mabuchi, Toichi. 1935. *The Formosan Native Tribes: A Genealogical and Classificatory Study (in Japanese).*

Valeri, Valerio. 2000. *The Forest of Taboo: Morality, Hunting, and Identity Among the Huaulu of the Moluccas.* Wisconsin: Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press.

Wang, hsieh-shin. 2004. *Compilation of Aboriginal Archives Related To the Zhu-Miao Area in the Japanese Colonial Period.* Taipei: National Archives, Burearu of Taiwan Historical Documents (in Chinese).

Wang, Yong-shin. 1997. *An Investigation on the Saisiyat Concept of Gender in Life-cycle Rituals.* Master Thesis, Department of Anthropology, National Taiwan University (in Chinese).

Warnier, Jean-Pierre 2001. "A Praxeological Approach to Subjectivation in A Material World," *Journal of Material Culture* 6(1): 5-24.

Wei, Huei-lin 1956. "Clan Organization and Local Society of the Saisiat," *Journal of Taiwan Archives* 7(3/4): 1-6 (in Chinese).

Wei, Hui-lin et al. 1965. *A Drafted Provincial Gazetteer of Taiwan, Vol. 8, book 1.* Taipei: Council of Taiwan Archives (in Chinese).

Weiner, Annette B. 1992. *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving.* Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press.

Whitehouse, Harvey. 1992. "Memorable Religious: Transmission, Codification and Change in Divergent Melanesian Contexts," *Man* 27(4): 777-797.

Wu, Hsueh-ming. 2000. *The Studies of the "Chin-kuang-fu" Pioneer Guard Posts. Vol. I & II.* Xin-zhu: Cultural Center of Xin-zhu County (in Chinese).

Wu, Hsueh-ming. 1984. *The "Chin-kuang-fu" Pioneer Guard Posts the Development of the Mountain District in Southeastern Hsin-chu* (in Chinese).

Yamanouchi, Sakuro. 1932. *Features of Agriculture and Economic Lives Among the Saisiat.* Taihoku: Imperial Taihoku University (in Japanese).

Yang, Xi-mei. 1956. "System of Personal Names in the Saisiyat of Taiwan," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 3: 331-337 (in Chinese).

Yates, F. 1966. *The Art of Memory.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Young, James. 1993. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning.* New Heaven: Yale Univ. Press.

Yoshino, Kiyohito. 1939. "Ritual Organizations of the Saisiyat," *The Japan Journal of Ethnology.* 5(3): 31-64 (in Japanese).

Yoshino, Kiyohito. 1940. "The Rites of Passages of the Saisiyat," *The Japan Journal of Ethnology* 6(2): 19-53 (in Japanese).

Yu, Yung-he. [1698]1959. *Accounts of a Journey through a Small Sea.* Taipei: Institute of Economic Research, Bank of Taiwan.

Zhu, Feng-lu. 1992. *Lyrics of the pas-taai Ritual Songs of the Saisiyat, A Group of Taiwan Aborigines.* Wufeng: Ritual Committee of the North Saisiyat at Wufeng Township

Zhu, Feng-sheng. 1998. *The Traditional Rituals of the Saisiyat.* Wufeng: Saisiayt Culture and Art Association at Wufeng Township

Zhu, Feng-sheng. 2000. *The Translated Version of the pas-taai Ritual Songs of the North Saisiyat.* Wufeng: Saisiayt Culture and Art Association at Wufeng Township